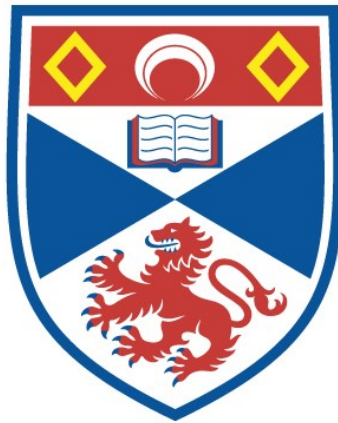


THE CHRIST-MYSTICISM OF ST. PAUL

Thomas Caldwell

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



1927

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THE CHRIST-MYSTICISM OF ST. PAUL.

being a Thesis presented by

Thomas Caldwell

to the University of St. Andrews

in application for the degree of Ph.D.



I hereby declare that the following Thesis
is my own composition, and that it has not
previously been presented for a Higher Degree.

I hereby certify that *the Rev. Thomas Caldwell B.D.*,
has spent nine terms at Research Work in *the*
University of St. Andrews,

that he has fulfilled the conditions of
Ordinance No.16 (St. Andrews) and that
he is qualified to submit the accompanying
Thesis in application for the degree of Ph.D.

I matriculated in the University of St. Andrews
in 1900 and followed a course leading to graduation
in Arts and Divinity until 1907.

On October 1922 I commenced the research
on which the following work is now being submitted as
a Ph.D. Thesis.

THE CHRIST-MYSTICISM OF ST. PAUL.

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I. INTRODUCTORY.

In any serious study of the extensive literature devoted to Pauline Christianity one cannot go very far without remarking the frequency with which reference is made to the Apostle's "mysticism". Not only is the word "mysticism" used to describe certain elements in St. Paul's religion, but such phrases as "mystical experience" and "mystical temperament" are applied to his life and teaching and in not a few instances the Apostle is plainly written down a "mystic". This is true not merely of the ever-increasing number of 'popular' studies of St. Paul's religion and theology, but it is also true of the works of the most learned and most acute New Testament scholars of recent years, as we shall have occasion to indicate. Yet in view of this wide recognition of the "mystical" element in St. Paul it is surprising to find the complaint laid at the door of Pauline scholars that it is just in respect of the Apostle's "mysticism" that they have been wanting in appreciation. "This neglected side of Paul's experience" wrote one student of the Apostle¹ less than twenty years ago; while another expressed his dissatisfaction thus: "I am not acquainted with any treatise on Paulinism, nor any commentary on St. Paul's epistles, which gives as prominent a place as I could wish to the distinctive notes or characteristics of mystical religion, which, as it seems to me, form the presuppositions on which his(Paul's) system of Christian theology is based"². In the opinion of one present-day writer this deficiency in the full presentation of the

1. Paul the Mystic. J.M.Campbell.p.63.

2. Expositor.1896. W.R.Inge. pp.114-115.

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Christianity of St. Paul is particularly noticeable in Protestant theologians. This indictment, if it has reference to the past, is hardly to be refuted. The fact is that the theologians of the Protestant Church have thought it their métier to present in the forefront St. Paul's great doctrine of justification by faith and in connection mainly with it produce a Pauline Christianity based at once upon doctrinaire and forensic conceptions. It is now generally recognised that in this straining after a complete system of logically constructed doctrine much that is of great value for a proper estimate of the Apostle's religion is apt to be missed, much that has been misinterpreted or not interpreted in the past. This is the substance of the above-mentioned indictment of Protestant theology and Protestant theologians: " This idea of mystic fellowship with Christ, which dominates both Paul and John, and without which much of their theology becomes inexplicable, has always far too slight a recognition in Protestant theology. Protestant theology took up into itself only half of Paulinism. It fastened on the doctrine of justification by faith, it ignored---or practically ignored--- the twin doctrine (for such it is) of the union of the believer with Christ. In Paulinism the two halves make a single whole, and each apart from the other is almost meaningless."¹

It seems then that there is due, for any comprehensive view of St. Paul, some investigation of this neglected side of the Apostle's religion. This is all the

1. Expositor. H.T.Andrews. Sept.1923.p.192.

more urgent not only by reason of the increased interest in mystical religion at the present day but also because of the open admission on the part of many authoritative writers on the Epistles of St. Paul that mysticism is strongly in evidence there. The indictment against Protestant theologians is in a fair way to be repelled. For instance Dean Inge in one of his most recent volumes has given the following view of the religion and doctrine of the Apostle: " St. Paul's personal religion was a Christ-mysticism based on individual experience, and working from within outwards, as genuine Christianity always does, to inspire his devotion to the Church as the body of Christ, and his reverence for the two great sacraments in which the Church realises its corporate unity with its Lord "¹. Again and again this writer has emphasised the mystical note in St. Paul's Christianity. " He (Paul) is a genuine mystic "²; " in St John and St. Paul we find all the principles of a sound and sober Christian mysticism "³; these statements clearly indicate the reasoned verdict that the Apostle's personal religion was a Christ-mysticism. Nor is it by any means the case that this opinion lacks support. It is upheld by the measured judgments of many other students of the Apostle who indeed approach the subject from widely different points of view. Its most vigorous protagonist is perhaps Dr. Adolf Deissmann, who, regarding St. Paul as a prophetic soul of the type of the prophet Amos, comes to this very significant finding: " The piety of St. Paul--- is

1. Outspoken Essays. 2nd Series. p. 52. 2. Christian Mysticism, p.72. 3. Christian Mysticism. p.324.

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mysticism centred in Christ " and " there can be no doubt that St. Paul became influential in the world's history by reason of his mysticism about Christ ¹". Intimate knowledge of the language employed and the environment prevailing throughout the Apostle's life-time has enabled Deissmann to uphold the above verdict with enthusiasm; and from experts in the school of comparative religion, from Bousset, Reitzenstein Wendland and others he has received support in his main contention. One significant passage from Wendland runs thus: " With Jewish theology and the new Christian life of the Spirit there mingles in Paul the mysticism of the Oriental salvation-religions and not only enriches him with peculiar views and ideas, which are accidental but decides the content of his central Christ-mysticism round which these thoughts and motives group themselves ²". Bousset also is emphatic on the presence of mysticism in St. Paul. " The ardour and intimacy of his mysticism " he writes ³. So we are not surprised to find a New Testament scholar of to-day, who admits a certain measure of influence on St. Paul from the mystical religion or religions of the Apostle's world, insisting that " his Christ-mysticism is the outstanding feature of his piety " and that " Paul's mysticism is not a God but a Christ-mysticism ⁴". Alongside Dr. Morgan as possessing a somewhat similar view while not so sympathetic to the influence of Hellenistic religion we have Dr. H. A. A. Kennedy also affirming

1. St. Paul. A Study in Social and Religious History. Eng. Tr. pp. 132-133. 2. Die Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur. Vol. I. part 2. p. 178. 3. Kurios Christos. p. 174. 4. W. Morgan. The Religion and Theology of Paul. pp. 25 & 122.

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the mystical element in St. Paul. For even while he writes of the central place of faith in the religion of the Apostle, he is constrained to admit: " Nevertheless, we have every right to speak of the Mysticism of Paul --- a type of mysticism which stands by itself. Its meaning, as we have seen, is fellowship with Christ."¹

The above statements by scholarly interpreters of St. Paul indicate a certain volume of opinion that there is this mystical strain in his religion, and the number of such statements could be added to considerably.² But support for this assertion of mysticism in the Apostle is to be found also in the life and teaching of those who in the succeeding ages of Christianity experienced mystical religion and have become known as " the mystics of the Church ". Not only is it true of many of the early Church as Ignatius, Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria and later St. Augustine that they reveal a " mystic-³-al tendency " traceable to St. Paul, but some of the greatest of the medieval mystics have absorbed the Christianity of the Apostle and expressed their experiences and beliefs very much in terms of his experience, if not indeed in his very words. Baron von Hügel points out that this was certainly the case with ^{chosen} his type of the religious mystic, St. Catherine of Genoa, for whom, he says, St. Paul formed one of the main sources of her ⁴ Christian conceptions. This was also the case with that contemplative soul and dominant ecclesiastic, St. Bernard(d.1153),

1. Paul and the Mystery Religions, pp. 284 & 291. 2. cf. E. Underhill, The Mystic Way, p. 170. & Sabatier, The Apostle Paul, Eng. trans. p. 88. 3. A. C. McGiffert, The God of the Early Christians, p. 38. 4. The Mystical Element of Religion, p. 63ff.

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of whose writings Dom Cuthbert Butler has more than once to say: " based on St. Paul ".¹ Of a striking present-day exponent of mystical Christianity, the Sadhu Sundar Singh, it has been written that his mysticism continues " the Pauline tradition " and that his experience is, like that of St. Paul, " Christo-centric".² Such reference back to the Apostle on the part of acknowledged mystics lends countenance to the contention advanced by the students of Pauline Christianity, whom we have quoted above, that there are mystical elements in the religious experience and thought of St. Paul and that his mysticism is Christo-centric.

While it may not be denied, however, that at the very centre of St. Paul's religion there is the exalted and transcendental Christ and that the one desire the Apostle would have for the Christian is the desire " for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord " (Philip. 3:8), a knowledge which furthermore on St. Paul's own account was all-sufficient for himself (I Cor.2:2): " For I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified ", yet it may be argued that such knowledge of Christ can on St. Paul's own showing, be attained quite apart from any mystical experience whatsoever. In other words, the argument may be maintained that, while the Apostle's religion is Christo-centric, it and the doctrine which is the expression of it might very well grow out of his historically close connection with the crucified Jesus of Nazareth. Cannot supreme importance, it may be asked, in the formation of the Apostle's religion be attributed to the influence of the

1. Western Mysticism. pp.158&173. 2. E. Underhill. The Mystics of the Church. pp.254&255.

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historic person Jesus of Nazareth? Cannot the sum and substance of St. Paul's Christianity be explained on purely historical grounds, as arising out of his knowledge of Jesus and out of his subsequent conviction, however acquired, that this crucified Jesus was the Christ of God? Such a view, we hold, cannot be maintained in its entirety. For one thing we have still to account for that 'subsequent conviction' regarding the exalted Christ, and, further, we have to explain how St. Paul's knowledge of Jesus, even though it be admitted to be much fuller than is evident from a cursory examination of the Apostle's testimony,¹ expanded into that web of speculative 'knowledge' which emphasises the pre-existence of Christ, the mediator of the divine Fulness.² Where too can we find trace of doctrine of the indwelling Christ identified in St. Paul's experience with "the Spirit"? Are we not justified in maintaining with J. Weiss³ that "faith in Christ as held by the primitive churches and by St. Paul was something new in comparison with the preaching of Jesus; it was a new type of religion"? What were the new elements in the Apostle's Christianity? Or rather, what was the ground of this newness? With such questions confronting us it will not suffice as an explanation of St. Paul to point to the undoubted fact that he was "a religious genius" and as such was creative of new forms of thought and new attitudes towards the object of his faith. We cannot dismiss the problem in this way. While much may be allowed to genius, the man of genius is of necessity

1. R.J. Knowling. The Testimony of St. Paul to Christ.

2. cf. Romans 8 and Colossians 1. 3. Paul and Jesus. p.130.

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open to the influence of the Zeitgeist, of heredity, and of environment. Thus we have still to analyse and examine the content of religious genius and to find, if possible, that in which it excels the religion of more ordinary and accepted type. In doing so we shall be surveying a field which Mysticism has always claimed for its own, for the mystics have ever professed to live " with an intensity which is beyond the scope of ' normal ' men ". Moreover, we cannot dismiss the problem by asserting that any new elements in St. Paul's religion were due to the hidden realm of his own interpretative thought, that indeed he was the first great Christian theologian. For it is likely to be true that his religion and religious experience were larger than their theological expression. In other words, it is not so much a group of ideas or doctrines we have to explain but the ground of these ideas and doctrines in experience. We shall have to ask if in the Apostle as we read of him there is to be found evidence that any mystical experience or experiences form a constituent element in his experience of Christ, and, further, if there is mystical doctrine in his presentation of Christ as the object of his faith.

At the very outset, however, it is laid upon us that we define our terms. What meaning are we to find and convey in the words ' mysticism ', ' mystic ' and ' mystical experience '? No words have been subjected to so much loose employment and vague application. So much so, that to different minds they have stood for widely different meanings.

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Indeed the word ' mysticism ' itself has served to denote a variety of man's intellectual and spiritual activities and has been used of types of the religious life which differ widely in essentials. By some religionists the essence of mysticism is held to be the rejection of all exoteric media from the approach of man to God, while by others, notably within the Roman Catholic community, the first essential for their mysticism consists in the external media of the Eucharist and other religious rites. Undoubtedly these two attitudes have given us two great types of mysticism as we meet with it in history. But we see no adequate reason for accepting either of them as in itself supplying the whole of mysticism. We find the ever-present core of mysticism to be the attempt of man ^{to} have his soul outflow towards the Divine, to " sink his life in God's life ", but this attempt does not necessarily imply either rejection of all outward media or absorbing attention to exoteric practices. We therefore need a wider, more comprehensive, definition of mysticism than is possible from the two types above-mentioned. Attention has been drawn by Professor Pringle-Pattison to the two main strains in mysticism, the philosophic side of mysticism which reveals itself in " the endeavour of the human mind to grasp the divine essence or the ultimate reality of things ", and the religious side which seeks " to enjoy the blessedness of actual communion with the Highest " ¹. The former, he differentiates as the speculative; the latter as the practical side of mysticism. He further postulates of the practical or religious type that it seeks direct intercourse with God without

1. Encycl. Brit. Article, Mysticism.

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any external media. While we do not accept this view of the religious type of mysticism we are indebted to Professor Pringle-Pattison for the emphasis which he lays on the speculative as well as on the religious side of mysticism for in the subject of our study it appears to us that these two types of mysticism are present together. It takes no exhaustive search into the Epistles of St. Paul to demonstrate the fact that with him these two activities of the human soul, the speculative and the practical, are linked together, the practice of religion giving rise to speculative thought and vice versa¹. It is the combination of these two activities in the religion of St. Augustine that has earned for him the title of " the Prince of Mystics ", uniting in himself the two elements of mysticism, viz. " the most penetrating intellectual vision into things divine, and a love of God that was a consuming passion "². Such a combination of intellectual vision and passionate alignment of life to the Divine appears to us religion at its very highest. If this be religious mysticism, surely it is not an abnormal form of religion. Nor can it be truthfully described as " the romance of religion "³, if by " romance " is meant the adventures of the soul led by an unfettered imagination. Rather it is religion in its most intense form, religion arising from " the whole personality acting in concord, an abiding mood of thinking, willing, feeling "³. The fact that mysticism has presented itself in corrupt and exaggerated forms, in theosophy, theurgy, world-forgetfulness, antinomianism and an overdrawn

1. Dom Cuthbert Butler. Western Mysticism. p.24.

2. Vaughan. Hours with the Mystics. ch.iv.p.29

3. W.R.Inge. Christian Mysticism. ch.viii.p.331.

symbolism, must not blind us. We must take it not in its aberrations and exaggerations, but as at root the energising of that sense and thirst for the Infinite which is the deepest characteristic of man, an energising which at its fullest is not a mere unguided ecstasy swaying the reason, directing the will, setting the emotions on fire, but involves the all of personality; " it is reason, will, and feeling exercising their most truly natural function--- the whole personality of man in contact with its Source and End ¹". We would therefore not rest content with that succinct definition of mysticism put forward by Dr. Rufus Jones, to whom it is a " type of religion which puts emphasis on immediate experience of God, a direct and intimate consciousness of divine reality ²", but we would lay stress upon the channel through which this experience and consciousness come, and define mysticism thus: " Religious mysticism is the experimental perception of God's Presence and Being, and especially union with God, a union, that is, not merely psychological in conforming the will to God's Will, but, it may be said, ontological of the soul with God, spirit with Spirit: this perception and union being attained by the logic of the whole personality ". This is the sense in which we shall employ the term ' mysticism ' in our reference to St. Paul. We shall further use the term ' mystic ' to describe one who makes his appeal in support of his religion, not to feeling alone or to speculative thought alone or to some suprarational faculty alone, but to the living logic of his whole personality, i.e., to feeling, will, intellect, and the field of that which we are accustomed to name " the subconscious ". A mystical

1. E. Herman. The Meaning and Value of Mysticism.p.27.

2. Dictionary of Religion and Ethics. Art. Mysticism.p.302.

experience ', again, will have for us this meaning: a consciousness of, and intercourse with, God, in which the whole personality is involved and which results in dynamic integration of personality. In every such experience, that is to say, there is contact with the Divine, not that the personality of the subject may be wholly absorbed or submerged but that it may be made more real and more active. The test of all such ' mystical experiences ' is life-enhancing quality.

These are our working definitions, in framing which we have aimed at adhering to the substance of mysticism and avoiding its accidents. Are these definitions in conformity with the views held by the acknowledged mystics themselves? And would they be acceptable to those who profess a deep insight into mysticism and mystical states? We believe that both questions can be answered in the affirmative. Miss Underhill, whose enthusiasm for religious mysticism is not beyond her knowledge of the historical types of the mystical life, has declared the essential characteristics of mysticism to be as follows: (1) the clear conviction of a living God and of a self capable of communion with Him; (2) an experience of transcendent reality which involves all our powers, the heart, the will, the mind; and (3) a change of angle on the part of the self, a change affecting the whole character, not merely the intellectual outlook, but also the ethical outlook. Here we undoubtedly have the three elements insisted upon by our definitions--- conscious personal contact and acquaintance with God, the whole personality the medium, and life-enhancing quality. We are therefore confirmed in the content which

we shall give to the terms ' mysticism ', ' mystical experience ' and ' mystic ' in dealing with St. Paul's religion. We need such definitions lest our thoughts and arguments stray into one or other of the many paths which mysticism has taken, out-reachings of the religious spirit, ranging from the Plotinian system of intellectual self-culture with its final stage " a flight of the alone to the Alone "; the Pseudo-Dionysian doctrine of the Via Negativa in which the approach to the Super-Essential Indeterminate Deity involves the negation of the human selfhood; down to the ever-present cultivation or passive experience of purely emotional states rejected by the advocate of rationality as " pious imbecility ". So many are the different manifestations of mysticism in the history of religious man, that Prof. Pringle-Pattison¹ may have justification for his statement that mysticism " from its very nature is hardly susceptible of exact definition ", but at any rate we have the right to examine this religious attitude of the human soul and to view it from the standpoint of our own religious culture with a desire to express its underlying truth in terms of our own religious equipment. We put forward our definitions as suitable for such an interpretation of St. Paul's ' mysticism '. They postulate no distortion of the Apostle's powers: they are definitions which present our terms clean, dignified and respectful. So, we hold, it does not smack of disrespect to examine the question as to whether or not the Apostle's religion is ' mystical ', his religious experience inclusive of ' mystical experiences ', and he himself a ' mystic '.

1. Encycl. Brit. Article, Mysticism.

What material have we to hand wherewith to estimate the applicability of our definitions to the religion of St. Paul? The material is ample. Whoever desires a view of the Apostle's spiritual life is always favourably placed in this respect at least that in the Epistles he possesses abundantly copious outpourings of St. Paul's inmost being. St. Paul, says J. Weiss,¹ is one of the few figures in the ancient world that stand before us fully revealed, by reason of the fact that he has revealed himself in his writings just as he was. The style itself in the Epistles has been admitted to be so much the Apostle's own as to be in itself the living echo of his mind and in every way to be trusted as the expression of his soul's inner deeps. The Pauline Epistles of proved authority will therefore be considered enough for all that is wanted to reveal the Apostle's religious experience. We propose, however, to utilise in addition to the Epistles² of proved authority the Acts of the Apostles as a background to the self-revelation of the author of the Epistles. Though the writer of Acts is at times unacquainted with what is given us in the Epistles, and though he is undoubtedly inclined to lay stress upon supernatural agency, yet Acts can be taken as " a first-rate historical document ". Of the Epistles we shall make use of the following: Galatians, I and II Thessal-
-onians,^{I and II} Corinthians, Romans, Colossians, Philemon, Philippians and Ephesians. The Pastoral Epistles we shall not take into consideration since to their authenticity there has accumulated a weight of objection and since without them we have an adequate

1 Das Urchristentum. Bk.III. Chap. 13.
Earlier Epistles of St. Paul. pp.12&13.

2. Kirsopp Lake. The

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corpus of Pauline documents, adequate for our investigation. Ephesians we have put last in our list of the Epistles because its authenticity has been challenged in many quarters. We retain it on the ground that the dismissal of doubts regarding Colossians goes a long way to render possible the acceptance of it as authentic; on the ground that its cosmology appears essentially Pauline; on the ground that its peculiar interest in the Church is due possibly to the destination intended for it; and on the ground that its peculiarities of phrase and expression are no more remarkable than those found elsewhere in the Epistles accepted as Pauline. Dr. Kirsopp Lake¹ puts the claim for the genuineness of Ephesians very strongly when he writes of Romans and Ephesians: "As a matter of fact there is no Epistle, except, perhaps, I Corinthians, which is so well attested in the sub-Apostolic period as these two".

These then are the sources to which we shall go for the proof, or disproof, of the presence of mysticism in St. Paul. Of them, more particularly of the Epistles, it can be said that they are the main sources. "Each is a portrait of St. Paul, and therein lies the unique value of St. Paul's letters as materials for an historical account of their writer. There is probably not a single Christian of any importance in later times from whom we have received such absolutely honest materials to enable us to realise what his inner life was like"². Such abundant materials must, of course, constitute the main source of our knowledge of the Apostle's religion. But we would point out just because the Epistles are pre-eminently the first and the

1. op. cit.

2. Deissmann. St. Paul. Eng. Trans. p.23.

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main source for insight into St. Paul, it is all the more incumbent upon us to view them in the right perspective, that is, in the light of all the influences which called them forth from their author. That this has not always been done has been not seldom to the detriment of a proper understanding of the Apostle. Too frequently he has been obscured behind Paulinism. The undaunted missionary to the Gentiles has been presented as a systematic theologian. His torrential eloquence, his hurriedly dictated letters, and his expanding doctrine have been made to serve arid disquisitions on the nature of the Atonement and the meaning of justification by faith. The human figure, the living Paul, has thus been suffered to drop into the background and his Epistles have come to be treated as so many bloodless treatises. It was against this view of the Apostle and the Pauline writings that Deissmann wrote his stimulating and fresh study of St. Paul, in which it is contended that the Epistles are not to be taken as literary compositions carefully thought out but as ' letters ', natural outpourings like those flowing from the heart of the prophet. In this refreshing presentation of the Apostle and his writings we see the force of modern research giving a new attitude towards the early Christian documents and in this case revealing more of the real man Paul, a very human figure. With this human figure rescued for us, we are able to-day to obtain a deeper insight into the religion of the man who

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gave us the Epistles. In them we are able to catch sight of the Apostle as himself an epistle to be " known and read of all men ".

Yet we must here enter a caveat against the full acceptance of Deissmann's view that the Epistles are un-literary letters, inspired by particular situations, the product of a " homo religiosus " , a " religious genius " ¹. No one will deny that they have an individuality all their own. But it must not be forgotten (and Deissmann would be the last to have us forget it) that St. Paul was not only imbued with Hebrew piety but was also learned in the Septuagint and used the common Greek tongue of his day. Furthermore, in this Greek tongue spoken by the Graeco-Roman world there was a religious and philosophical literature with which he may have had a certain contact. St. Paul, as J. Weiss points out, was an ' ancient ' and as such could not altogether avoid using the conventional rhetorical forms of the ancient writers. Hence there are passages in the Epistles which show traces of those forms of style and speech, traditional forms which must have had a restraining influence upon the formation and the flow of the Apostle's thought and diction. So that his directness is not so free as the first glance would indicate. ² All this reminds us that he was heir to the conventions of style and the forms of speech current prior to and in his day. It may be that we cannot limit his indebtedness wholly to the forms of expression. As he was indebted to the actual terminology of his contemporaries he must have in a certain degree come to be

1. St. Paul. Eng. Trans. p. 82. 2. J. Weiss. Das Urchristentum. Bk. III. Chap. 13.

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acquainted with the thoughts and ideas expressed therein. He breathed the atmosphere of the life and speech of his surrounding world and he inevitably reacted (we shall consider in what measure) to the religious culture of his day. Thus, while it is true that St. Paul is by no means to be explained in this way alone, and while it is right to recognise that his ' genius ' marks both his words and thought with a distinct individuality, he yet reveals in his Epistles that he has attachments to the religious life of his world: and because of these attachments there are other, if less direct, sources for our knowledge than the Epistles themselves. A religious genius like St. Paul does not flash across the path of history like a comet coming near to but never touching this world: the elements of his genius must at many points touch the life of his world and his age. This fact, we hold, must be kept in mind in any attempt to interpret the Epistles . Within and behind these writings, our main sources, there are likely to lie forms of thought and expression bearing traces of the religious environment of their author. Transformed and transcend-
-ed these elements from the Apostle's environment may be in the presentation of his own religion as given in the Epistles, but nevertheless they are sources that we must take into account when we investigate that religion.

For instance, there is ample evidence of the widespread appeal made in the world of St. Paul's time by a type of religious thought in which the emphasis was laid upon a contact and union of man with God, a union of the human soul with Deity, in the words of our definition " a union ontological

of the soul with God, spirit with Spirit ", God-mysticism. Was there anything of this God-mysticism in St. Paul? We would not be surprised if there had been in the Apostle a certain strain of this nature, for it was in the very atmosphere he breathed from his youth upward. Throughout the world of Graeco-Roman culture the Stoic philosophy had prevailed to the destruction of belief in the ancient gods by its insistence on the Universal Reason, that rational principle in the world which is one in nature with the self-conscious intelligence within man. Hence the Stoic despaired of the world without and fastened on the certitude of meeting the Absolute in his own soul. " Man is a composite of earthly nature and divine life. The divine is sent to take its habitation on earth, in order that if man is mortal according to that part of him which is visible he may be immortal according to that part which is invisible ". Typical expression of this contact of the divine in man with the Deity without him is to be found in Seneca: " Animus rectus bonus magnus Deus in corpore humano hospitans " and " prope est a te deus, tecum est, intus est ". To Philo and to Seneca, both contemporaries of St. Paul, direct influence on the Apostle's thought and utterance has been attributed, but whatever the answer given to this particular question of origins, it is now recognised that the religious and philosophic ideas to be found in these two contemporaries of St. Paul were everywhere finding a home in the hearts of men. They must have caused some reverberation in the mind of Paul of Tarsus, even if he did not himself frequent Stoic schools. For instance, Philo of Alexandria, 1. Philo. De Opif. Mundi. XLVI. 2. Ep. 31:11&41:4.

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who expresses the thought of Hellenistic Jews, employs the word Logos to denote the divine principle immanent in man and the universe, which principle or Logos is the point of contact between God and man. To Philo our knowledge is really God dwelling in us. Man is distinctly a " compound of dross and deity "¹. Philo, however, does not really decide between the transcendence and the immanence of the Deity. All that he conveys under the word Logos is the rational principle inherent in man and the universe, and only so far as he conceives of this Logos as " a second God " dwelling in man's soul, can he be held to assert that man is a " compound of dross and deity ". Nevertheless in this conception of the Logos the Stoic idea of the indwelling of God in all things may have appealed to St. Paul, but it would appeal to him in the main only as he sought to interpret Christ. Passages in the Epistles such as I Corinthians 8:6 and Colossians 1:15ff. show how the Apostle was able to bring the terms ' Christ ' and ' Logos ' into complete synonymy. This predominant interest in Christ must be kept in mind however much we agree with the view that " Paul found a rational basis for his monotheistic preaching in the popular philosophy of Stoicism; proofs of the fact are the speech on Mar's Hill(the Areopagus)----and especially Romans 1:20,----where Paul derives ideas not only from The Wisdom of Solomon, but from Hellenistic thought in general "². All that we would concede is this, that these Stoic ideas of the Deity as constitutive of all creation and immanent in the human soul were known to St. Paul; that he indeed used the terminology expressive of these ideas e.g. Acts 17:28; and further that the religio-

1. Edward Caird. Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers. XXI.p.205. 2. J. Weiss. Paul and Jesus.p.76.

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-philosophic system of Stoicism, however pantheistic and materialistic it might be, tended to lead men's minds to a God-mysticism. Nor can it be overlooked that among the Jews of the Hellenistic world the longing for union with God was gathering force. The age of ritual religion and community worship had passed away, giving place to a more subjective religion in which the individual yearned for a more intimate fellowship with his God. True, the Jew looked for that union in the future as his apocalyptic writings prove; but nevertheless the desire was there. Jewish Apocalyptic reveals a concern for union with God which is quite apart from the main stream of Jewish piety, but which, while it has its eyes on the future life alone, makes use of the ~~very~~ terms employed by the mysticism concerned with the union with God in this life;¹ and there is no doubt that St. Paul has links connecting with the ecstatic God-mysticism of this Apocalyptic thought.² But it must be remembered that of far greater effect in the life of the mass of the Apostle's contemporaries than either the philosophic or the apocalyptic God-mysticism, and far more likely to merit attention from Paul the missionary, was the mysticism which formed the prevailing religious tendency of the Graeco-Roman world. Throughout that world an old and rich culture in its decay and dying agony evinced the yearning unrest of a search for God, an unrest which found its satisfaction in the many religious cults and Mystery-religions. These answered the

1. E.J.Price. Hibbert Journal. October 1919. 2. Kennedy. St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions.p.39ff.

widespread desire for union with the Deity or deities by offering community-worship, initiatory rites, secret ceremonies, the cultivation of ecstatic states, with a view to the devotee arriving not only at the seeing and knowing his deity but also at complete identity with his god. By 'vision ', by initiation, by ' gnosis ' men became one with their god: they experienced a transformation and were ' reborn ' as gods. The central conceptions of these Mystery-religions we shall have occasion to refer to at greater length; meanwhile we affirm the presence of this mystical religion in the world of St. Paul and admit that its God-mysticism was likely to be known to him both before and, perhaps more fully, after his conversion.

It must be confessed, however, that there is in St. Paul little trace of mysticism that is purely God-mysticism. References in the Epistles to the indwelling of God in man and to man's fellowship with God are negligible in number. The terms " in God " and " God in us " are not favoured of the Apostle. Even where the idea of direct contact with God may seem to be expressed, as in Philippians 2:13, " For it is God which worketh in you ", St. Paul lends himself to the interpretation that he has here before his mind the Source of power which is ever pre-eminent to him. " For the preaching of the cross is to them that perish foolishness, but unto us which are saved it is the power of God ¹ " and " Christ the power of God ² " and " God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself ³ ", are statements which show wherein the Apostle looks for the impact of God upon the believer's soul. Nowhere in respect to

1. I Cor.1:18. 2. I Cor.1:24. 3. II Cor.5:19.

God per se ~~is~~ countenance given to the thought that man may attain union with Him. Nor is there to be found that union of God and man which is so prominent in the Mystery-religions of which we have spoken. There is no Pauline doctrine of identification with God or of deification. Such God-mysticism, as Bousset has pointed out, receives little countenance from St. Paul. Nor is this to be wondered at. All such ideas would be abhorrent to the Apostle as a Jew and therefore one concerned primarily with the moral relation of himself to God, not with a metaphysical relation. The latter would be alien to his mind since his God, the God of his fathers, was above all a God of supreme moral attributes. Between such a Being and man there could be union primarily by moral obedience. A union of being and essence was not to be thought of: "No man shall see me and live" ². This is not to be taken as implying that St. Paul would have denied to the consciousness of man room for the consciousness of God. But he certainly would have denied that man as he is can attain to a union with God in the sense that God became an inherent part of him. It was possible for men to be "alienated" from God. ³ And further, the very consciousness of union was the "new creation" of Another. ⁴ Again, it is to be noted that for St. Paul the gulf that separates God and man is too deep to be filled by man himself. If, as he says in I Corinthians 2:14, "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned", that is equivalent to saying that man of himself cannot attain to a

1. Kurios Christos. p. 156. cf. Deissmann. Die Neutestamentliche Formel. "in Christo Jesu". p. 94. 2. Exodus. 33:20. 3. Col. 1:21. 4. II Cor. 5:17.

true " knowledge of God ", and much less can he attain to immediate union with God. St. Paul stands far apart from such a conception of human contact with the Divine as we meet with in the Hermetic Literature and in the Persian cult of Mithra: " For Thou art I and I am Thou; Thy name is my name and mine Thine; I am Thy image " ¹. In the Apostle's writings there is nothing of this appropriation of and identification with God. J. Weiss in ' Das Urchristentum ' denies of the Apostle any such mystical God-intoxication and supports this denial by a study of the Pauline phrases " the knowledge of God " and " the love of God ". Here, argues Weiss, ² " knowledge " and " love " are not " satisfaction-works " on the part of the believer. Rather the initiative lies always with God, Who calls forth these activities by His grace. Therefore the starting-point to which St. Paul invariably returns is that of God's " love " and God's " knowledge ". It is because of the exercise of God's love and knowledge that the grace of God abounds unto men so that men receive the Spirit of God and thus truly know Him. But the idea of " the Spirit of God ", a divine equipment, is not a purely mystical idea. It is present in religion not distinguished for its mysticism. So that when " knowledge " and " love " appear in St. Paul's doctrine as activities of the Spirit and gifts of God's grace: when he writes " For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit " ³ and " the fruit of the Spirit is love " ⁴, this is very far from asserting that God is inherent

1. Dieterich. Eine Mithras-Liturgie. S. 97ff. 2. Das Urchristentum. Bk. III. chap. 16. 3. I Cor. 12:8. 4. Gal. 5:22.

in man or that man is a part of God. Moreover, while with St. Paul the emphasis returns to the beneficent activity of God and hence to man's being known and loved of God, the corresponding knowledge of God and love of God on the part of man is dependent on man's possession of " the Spirit ". Only he who has the Spirit of God can truly " know " God. It is by virtue of their possession of " the Spirit " that men can penetrate into " the deep things of God ".¹ Now of an immanence of " the Spirit " either in the universe or in the natural man St. Paul gives no indication. Certainly, " the Spirit " is for him a divine magnitude and the potent source of new divine life in man, but so far is it from being native to or natural in man that it only dwells in man according as the exalted Christ dwells there. In other words Christ Himself is " the Spirit ": " Now the Lord is the Spirit ". There is no single activity of " the Spirit " that is not ascribed also to the indwelling Christ.

Here it is that we touch upon the essential process of the Apostle's experience of God. It is union or rather " access " by " the Spirit ", that is by Christ: " For through him we both have access by one Spirit unto the Father ".³ This is how St. Paul fills up the deep cleft between the Deity and man, which cleft his traditional Jewish belief in the moral perfection and the awesome sovereignty of God always retained before his mind. He cannot fill up or bridge that gap without the aid of Another, Christ. " Paul, in his experience of God, is not self-supported " says Deissmann,⁴ " he needs an intermediate agency --- into his

1. I Cor. 2:10. 2. II Cor. 3:17. cf. Gal. 4:16, Rom. 8:9-11.
3. Eph. 2:18. 4. St. Paul. Eng. Trans. p. 161.

weak humanity there streamed the divine power of the living Christ and through that Christ and in that Christ he obtained access ". To the same conclusion comes Prof. D. Weber: " The experience of the living Lord is the experience of the Presence of God---the life before God and from God is life in Christ. Paul has God-mysticism as Christ-mysticism ". At the root of all the Apostle's language asserting fellowship and union with the object of his faith there lies the living apprehension of Christ. It is Christ who fills the whole of his horizon, always the Risen and Exalted Christ. It may be argued from certain passages in the Epistles where St. Paul reveals an eschatological interest that above and beyond the Risen and Exalted Christ he is conscious of the transcendent overruling Deity: " For of him, and through him, and to him are all things " and " Then cometh the end, when he(Christ) shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father "; but with this God, to Whom all rule and all authority will in the end be subjected, there is no thought on the Apostle's part of direct contact attainable by man, no thought of " access ". All such thoughts in St. Paul are connected with Christ. " God became unthinkable for Paul except as revealed in Christ; and so, if we are thoroughly and profoundly honest, He remains ". St. Paul's religion is not so much theo-centric as Christo-centric. He is therefore in the strict sense not a God-mystic. Is he a Christ-mystic? Is " the outstanding feature of his piety " his Christ-mysticism "?

1. Die Formel " in Christo Jesu ", Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift. May. 1920. pp. 231 & 232. 2. Rom. 11:36. 3. I Cor. 15:24. 4. T.R. Glover. Paul of Tarsus. p. 89.

II. The Mystical Experiences of St. Paul.

We are on commonly accepted ground when we assert that the Christianity of St. Paul took its rise in an experience of Christ, and that every movement of his own soul was more or less the outcome of that experience. We must therefore come to the interpretation of his faith in Christ by "the avenue of experience" and that experience experience of Christ. Was there anything in that experience which may be termed mystical? This question may in the first instance be answered if we can find an answer to this other question: Had St. Paul experiences contributory to his religion which were "mystical" experiences? Had he, in terms of our definitions, occasions of direct intercourse with Christ, which intercourse led to a new energising of his personality? We believe that on the evidence obtainable the Acts and the Epistles the answer must be in the affirmative. Even those authorities, who do not find themselves obliged to admit the mystical element in the Apostle's religion, yet affirm of him the fact of such "mystical experiences." Thus Dr. Strachan writes: "It is, however, perplexing to find that Paul undoubtedly describes himself as capable of certain 'visions' and 'revelations' that can only be described as mystical." So also J. Weiss commenting on the intensity of Paul's relationship to Christ, the bond-slave to his Lord, admits: "It is self-evident that this is not merely a matter of rhetorical exaggeration, but that a strong feeling lies beneath it. He must have had quite peculiar and extraordinary experiences." Again

1 The Individuality of St. Paul. p.228.

2 Das Urchristentum.

Wernle, who holds that the Apostle in his doctrine of the Spirit really aims at the subordination of mysticism, concedes that " St. Paul learnt to taste of the powers of the great Beyond--- a wonderful experience. He fell into ecstasies and saw visions He was vouchsafed revelations. He saw the Lord. He was caught up into Paradise. He heard heavenly words." There were then extraordinary experiences, which , even if St. Paul himself is loth to emphasise them, gave him " the widest and deepest subjective stimulation of the most varied and often the obscurest kind," and which carried the richest objective content within themselves. They are therefore sufficiently important to be enumerated:

- (1) the conversion experience, Acts IX:1-22, XXII:6-16, XXVI:12-19; references in I Cor. IX:1, XV:5-8, II Cor. IV:6, Gal. I:15-16, Philip. III:12.
- (2) the prayer experience in the Temple. Acts. XXII:17-21.
- (3) the paradise experience. II Cor. XII:1-9.
- (4) the Troas experience. Acts XVI. 7&8-10.
- (5) the night vision at Corinth. Acts. XVIII:7-10.
- (6) the Jerusalem experience. Acts. XXIII:11.
- (7) the shipwreck experience. Acts XXVII:23-25.

Of all these experiences it must be admitted that St. Paul himself was convinced of their reality. They were to him revelations of a sphere above humanity and of a Power not to be disobeyed (Acts XXVI:19).

Are we then to describe these

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experiences as 'mystical'? William James, who holds the view " that personal religious experience has its root and centre in mystical states of consciousness " has put forward four characteristics " which, when an experience has them, may justify us in calling it mystical."¹ These four characteristics are Ineffability, Noetic quality, Trans~~sc~~endency and Passivity. That is to say, an experience to be 'mystical' must (a) be so directly experienced as to defy expression or transference to others: (b) be illuminative and convincing of depths of truth unplumbed by the discursive intellect, productive also of a curious sense of authority for after-time: (c) be so intense at the moment of occurrence that when past and faded it cannot be fully reproduced in memory, though it can be recognised when it recurs; and when it does recur its quality tends to be felt more and more rich and important: (d) be accompanied by a consciousness in the subject that he is dominated, grasped and held by a superior power. Of these four characteristics, the more important according to William James are the first two, but we propose to keep before us all four in our examination of the St. Paul's " visions and revelations".

Of these " visions and revelations " the most important is undoubtedly the first, the conversion-experience. It is recognised generally as the root of all the Apostle's Christian life and teaching, " the genesis of his gospel and apostleship."² What actually was the content of that experience

¹ The Varieties of Religious Experience. pp. 379-382.

² P. Wernle. op. cit. vol. ii. p.80.

on the road to Damascus? Answers to this question have been put forward from a variety of points of view. An explanation has been sought in the physical organism of the subject and the Apostle is presented as suffering on this occasion from sudden sun-stroke, or epilepsy¹, or both combined with ophthalmia. At the opposite pole from such naturalistic explanations there is the conservative exegete's contention that the evidence points to "the transformation wrought in Paul" by actual^{contact} with the Presence and Person of the Risen Jesus.¹ Then there is the solution based on psychological grounds, namely, that the conversion of St. Paul was due to revulsion of feeling caused by the triumphant death of Stephen. From the hour of that martyrdom St. Paul awoke to "a sudden bankruptcy" of his fanatical opposition to the new Christian sect and saw for the first time the love of God as revealed in the Crucified Jesus.² It has to be noted, however, that Dr. Gardner here argues on the assumption of the historical untrustworthiness of St. Luke's "love for the striking and the marvellous". On the same assumption it may be argued with like force that there is every ground for holding that the Stephen narrative is nothing more than a composition by the author of the Acts, a contention supported by the fact that St. Paul in his Epistles makes no reference to Stephen or Stephen's martyrdom and by the further fact that after that martyrdom he proceeds more determinedly on the path of persecuting zeal. Very much akin to this view put forward by Gardner is the general line taken by modern psychology in its endeavour to account for the conversion of St. Paul. "We

1 J.G. Machen. The Origin of Paul's Religion. p.68.

2 P. Gardner. The Religious Experience of St. Paul. p.30 ff.

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are to see in it the breaking into consciousness of a repressed complex after a process of unconscious development. Paul had long been inclined towards Christianity, but there were strong forces at work in his mind to prevent a frank acknowledge^{ment} of this inclination even to himself. Ancestral traditions, love of parents, and other social forces of his environment led him to resist the growing influence of Christianity over his mind. The Christianity-complex was repressed into the unconscious, and resistance to this complex appeared in the defensive reaction which led to the persecution of the Christians. The complex, however, was too strong for him, and its actual outbreak into consciousness was determined, not by any external event, but by the process of its own inner development. In other words, it was the breaking through of the complex that made Paul see Jesus Christ; it was not the vision of Christ that brought the complex into consciousness."¹

We have quoted this explanation of St. Paul's conversion because along with it there is also given the significant concession that psychology can only deal with mental states and not with the reference of these states to an external cause. The existence of an external cause cannot be denied or ruled out. God Himself may work through natural channels in the incubation of a complex and the breaking down of resistance. The unconscious and its complexes may furnish a sphere for divine activity, so that even if we accept this psychological account of the Apostle's conversion we are not prevented from holding that there was an objective ground of his visions. To

¹ E.J.Price. The Limitations of the Psychology of Religion. in the Hibbert Journal for July 1924.

analyse the mechanism of a mental state is a scientific task but once that is done it can be no sure basis for argument against divine origination or co-operation. Now it is just this divine origination and co-operation of which the Apostle has a vivid and abiding consciousness. The conviction of it is present with him in all the references to the "visions and revelations." In the conversion-experience in particular he is convinced of the appearance to him of the Risen and Glorified Christ, the contact of a heavenly Being with his own soul. On his own part Paul always interpreted this crisis in his life as the actual appearance of the Risen Jesus to himself. That appearance on the road to Damascus is no odd or stray addition to his spiritual outfit, but the very key that unlocked for him the meaning of his own experience.¹ Thus it is that he can write: "But when it pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace, to reveal his Son in me-----immediatedly I conferred not with flesh and blood." (Gal. I:15&16); "Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?" (I Cor 9:1); "And last of all he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due season." (I Cor. 15:8). If it be true, as most authorities hold,² that St. Paul had never come into contact with Jesus in the days of His flesh then the revelation of the Risen Jesus on the road to Damascus was for him a great indisputable reality. He himself classes it with the appearances granted to the inner circle of Christ's most intimate disciples, (I Cor. 15:3-9); and in so doing he sets it above the 'visions' common among the early

1 Paul of Tarsus. T.R. Glover. p.67. 2 e.g. Wrede, Wernle, Bacon, Gardner. For the opposite view cf. J. Weiss. "Paul and Jesus," and C. Clemen. "Life of St. Paul."

believers. It was a unique privilege setting him among the apostles.(I Cor.9:1).

Whether or not, then, we accept this account of St. Paul himself as conforming to the accounts given in Acts, we can scarcely doubt that he believed himself to have seen his Master in a spiritual form and to have had direct communications from him. The conversion-experience in particular was for him the great decisive revelation of the living Christ. And in the first place this experience had the characteristic of noetic quality. It was the Apostle's admission into that knowledge of the Risen Lord and the power of His Cross which all through his subsequent career constrained him with unquestioned authority. Here also in this experience of St. Paul, as in like singular experiences ~~undergone~~ by Plotinus, Augustine, Boehme, Suso, Fox and a multitude of the Roman Catholic mystics, there came in that flash of " wonderful light " certainties of knowledge which were to be at once fixed and fructuous in the life and thought of the Apostle and which were thus to " carry with them a curious sense of authority for after-time." One has only to read the Pauline statements regarding " the last things ", regarding the ' glory ' which the believer is yet to put on, and regarding the place occupied by the Christ as the image of the invisible God, in order to realise how very much the revelation granted the Apostle at his conversion gave authority to his subsequent Christian teaching. Again and again his authoritative unfolding of the deep things of God can be traced back to his knowledge of the Risen and Glorified Christ revealed to him in the conversion-

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-experience. Nor is there wanting in this experience the characteristic of passivity. It is possible to argue for this characteristic on the ground of Paul's utter prostration in the presence of the vision. But apart from the physical effects emphasised by St. Luke we may see in the conversion-experience of the Apostle the sudden meek submission of his will to the will of Another. He yields himself wholly to the will of Christ: "What shall I do, Lord?" He is "grasped and held" at the moment by "a superior power." He becomes conscious of a new all-absorbing mission: there is born in him that which is to hold him and inspire him ever afterwards---- the consciousness of his mission to the Gentiles. The Apostle himself couples the conversion-vision with this call to minister to the Gentile world: "that I might preach him among the heathen." (Gal. I:16). Here is the beginning of that re-direction of the Apostle's will which receives its fuller expression in the Epistles as union with Christ. The Exalted and Risen Christ before whose glory the Apostle was prostrate and passive on the road to Damascus is the exalted being with whom he henceforth lives in spiritual communion.

We have found then, these two characteristics of 'mystical experience' in that extraordinary experience of St. Paul at his conversion. What of the other two characteristics, transiency and ineffability? That the bright effulgence of the vision faded from the Apostle, that outward darkness came upon him is narrated in St. Luke's accounts. That a period of depression settled on the Apostle immediately after his soul-upheaving experience and that the new possession of himself by the Crucified

Christ struggled with a deep sense of his own unworthiness and his own misery is perhaps the fact that lies behind the Lucan accounts. The soul that has been rapt and dazzled by the glory of the revelation falls back, exhausted by the intensity of the experiency, into its normal if not a more depressed state. We may then affirm that the vision on the road to Damascus was transient, its full transcendent glory fading for a time. As to whether or not it was repeated in its fullness we have no evidence except that which the examination of St. Paul's other "visions and revelations" may reveal. Nor to the conversion-experience by itself can we positively attribute the characteristic of ineffability. If we put aside the Apostle's speeches as given in the Acts, we find in the Epistles no attempt to describe in detail the great event of his life. Did his vision of the risen Jesus defy expression? May not the three Lucan accounts be accepted as repeated attempts on the part of St. Paul to express in words which were felt to be inadequate an experience above human measure? These are questions which the recorded utterances of later Christian mystics might lead us to answer in the affirmative. We prefer, however, to find further evidence of the characteristics of 'mystical experience' in the other "visions and revelations" recorded of St. Paul.

Of these the more important are (2) the prayer experience in the Temple and (3) the paradise experience. These two experiences have incorrectly been taken by Miss Underhill¹ as one and the same, which manifestly they are not, the latter

¹ The Mystic Way. p. 165.

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taking place some six years after the former. Dr. Plummer dates the former as happening soon after the conversion," which cannot be placed either much earlier or much later than A.D. 37." The latter he would date about A.D. 43. Regarding the former incident, the trance in the Temple, the statement has been made that it was St. Paul's " first ecstasy; a characteristically mystic combination of vision, audition, and trance, in which the ferment of his inner life, its paradoxical sense of unworthiness and greatness, swaying between pain-negation and joy-affirmation, found artistic expression. The agony of contrition for the past---' Lord, they know that I imprisoned and beat in every synagogue them that believed on Thee'--- is balanced by prophetic knowledge of the future, an abrupt intuition of his amazing destiny---' I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles.'² The critic of the Lucan narrative might here attribute the " artistic expression " to St. Luke's literary enthusiasm and the " prophetic knowledge " to the same writer's acquaintance with events already visible. While refraining from dogmatising on this, we would see in the trance-experience an emotional state which might readily occur in the Apostle with his temperament, and which might satisfactorily be accounted for as a surging up into his consciousness or a vivid recollection of those experiences undergone in the recent conversion. Far more important for our investigation, however, is that other experience narrated by St. Paul himself in II Cor.

1 A. Plummer. Second Epistle to the Corinthians.p. 197.

2 E.Underhill. op. cit. p.165.

12:1-4, --- the paradise-experience. Not only is it an account at first hand that is given us; it is an account given with reluctance and reserve and therefore likely to be free from any hint of exaggeration. And it reveals all the four characteristics of " mystical experience." It reveals ineffability-- " whether in the body, I cannot tell; or whether out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth; ---- unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter; " noetic quality ---- caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter; " transiency----" whether in the body or out of the body" implies that the experience was too rare and unsustained for the ordinary sensual existence; and passivity----" such an one caught up to the third heaven of -----caught up into paradise." This is an account definite communication between the spirit of Paul and that of his Master, of " a mystic ascent to heaven and the hearing from the Lord of words which he will not repeat."¹ The incident has been compared by Dean Inge to the famous *ôys*² of that mystic par excellence, Plotinus, that " flight of the alone to the Alone " in which the human soul freeing itself from the sensible world and rising above the discursive reason gazes upon and is united with the Absolute: " they are no more two but one; and the soul is no more conscious of the body or of the mind but knows that she has what she desired, that she is where no deception can come and that she would not exchange her bliss for all the heaven of heavens."³ So also St. Augustine speaks of his mystical experience in terms comparable to those employed by the Apostle:

¹P.Gardner.op.cit. p.53. ² Expositor.1896.pp 114-123.

³ Christian Mysticism. p.97.

" we reached out of ourselves and touched by a flash of insight the eternal wisdom that abides above all."¹ Like these two deep thinkers, both of a speculative mystical type, St. Paul confesses to having been "out of" himself. Indeed in the passage which narrates the paradise-experience he speaks of himself throughout in the third person, " a man in Christ." This avoidance of the first personal pronoun has been taken to indicate an " attitude of critical detachment towards this vision "² as if he did not set much value upon it and like " visions." It is more likely that the Apostle chooses to speak in the third person because a person who experiences an ecstasy, to his everyday self, is another person. Thus while it is true, as the context shows, that he speaks reluctantly of his "visions and revelations " and will not make them the main basis of his glorying, it cannot be doubted that this paradise-experience was to him a very real experience and an experience invested with an authority all its own. It may be primarily of great psychological interest and at the same time not of the essence of Paul's mysticism, as Dean Inge hints,³ but to the Apostle himself we cannot doubt that this experience, vividly recalled by him after an interval of years, was not an empty hallucination. It had a vital content which reacted upon the Apostle bringing him into deeper fellowship with his Divine Master and creating in him new centres of Christian power. It was, in terms of our definition, a " mystical experience."

1 Confessions IX.25.cf. c.Faustum. XII.42.

2 R.H.Strachan. The Individuality of St. Paul. p. 230.

3 Christian Mysticism.p.64.

On at least four other occasions the course of St. Paul's life was affected in different degree by "visions and revelations." The evidence for these lies almost wholly in the Acts. There is the Troas incident, wherein after "the Spirit suffered them not" to go into Bithynia there appeared to Paul in the night a vision of a man of Macedonia, who uttered the call to Europe. The call is interpreted as the call of the Lord. (Acts 16:9&10). There is the appearance of the Lord to the Apostle imprisoned in Jerusalem: "the Lord stood by him" and encouraged him in view of the witness he was to bear also at Rome. A similar vision had been experienced at Corinth, and a similar message of good cheer is imparted to St. Paul on that occasion (Acts 18:9&10). Then there is the shipwreck-experience, on which occasion the message of encouragement is conveyed by the presence and counsel of "an angel of the God, whose I am, and whom I serve." (Acts 27:23-25). All these experiences testify that the Apostle enjoyed a vivid sense of the Divine Presence, a consciousness of contact with his Risen Lord. It is to such close relationship, resulting in audition or inward admonition, that St. Paul refers in his beseeching for the removal of the "thorn in the flesh", which beseeching is answered of the Lord (II Cor. 12:7-9). What are we to make of this "supernal comradeship"? Was it supernal? Or were these revelations, as Wrede hints, the Apostle's "own reflections transformed into revelations"? Here it is very necessary to make one observation, namely, that we cannot take

1 Paulus. p.20.

any one or all of these later experience by itself or by themselves. Rather they must one and all be viewed in the light of the starting-point of the Apostle's Christian career, the vision and revelation on the road to Damascus, " the foundational experience in mysticism of a religious genius to whom also in later life extraordinary ecstatic experiences were vouchsafed." ¹ With Deissmann we hold this to be the true view-point for a correct estimate of the " visions and revelations " of St. Paul. Is it not likely that the Risen and Glorified Christ, whom he saw in a blaze of light at his conversion, imprinted Himself so indelibly on the consciousness of the Apostle that, whenever after a crisis came upon him, that same Lord appeared before his mental vision and with the ear of prayerful contemplation the same guiding Voice was heard? The experience at conversion was not a solitary event which began and ended on a single day: it was the commencement of a lifelong communion with Christ. The vision would come again , if not with the first singular impact on the Apostle: the Voice would be heard again, if not with the first intense soul-rending power. That such seeing and hearing centred upon objective appearances may be denied by us to-day on purely pathological and psychological grounds, but to St. Paul himself they undoubtedly conveyed a contact with Divine Reality. Undoubtedly also they served to renew the conviction of the life and mission to which he felt called of Christ and so they supplied " dynamic integration" of his personality. We therefore conclude that at certain crises of his religious life there occurred in

¹ A. Deissmann. ST. Paul. ch.V.

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St. Paul's experience of Christ certain " mystical experiences", one of which lay at the very genesis of his faith in Christ, while others sprang from the emotional and ecstatic in him reinforcing that faith. For the Apostle these " mystical experiences " were undoubtedly authoritative. They conveyed to him the clear conviction of a living Christ as the primary interest of consciousness, and of a personal self capable of communion with Him. This " overwhelming consciousness " is the central fact and the very first essential of mystical experience at its highest. " We may debate as we please between dream and other forms of vision, and reach no certainty " writes T.R.Glover, " In such cases the psychologists tell us that it is extremely hard to be definite either way. ----- On the other hand his story of being caught up to the third heaven and hearing unutterable words (II Cor .xii.2) coincides with the language of mystical vision, and turns the scale (with Damascus) decisively in favour of Paul also being of the company of the mystics."

It has become obvious in the course of our investigation of these " mystical experiences " that they are of more than slight importance for any discussion of the religion of St. Paul. They have more than a mere psychological interest. For all of them had a meaning for the Apostle himself and one of them at least played a decisive and lasting part in the origin and bent of his Christian mentality. The perception of this no doubt led so able an exegete as Frederick W. Robertson to place these " visions and revelations " of St. Paul on a level

1 E. Underhill. The Essentials of Mysticism. pp.2&3.

2 Paul of Tarsus. pp.185&186.

with the Baptism, the Temptation, and the Transfiguration of Jesus, these being decisive experiences in the " spiritual pilgrimage " of our Lord. So while St. Paul himself did not lay stress on his " visions and revelations " as grounds for his " glorying ", yet these cannot be passed over as having little influence on his life and religious outlook. On the other hand it must be kept in mind that the religious experience of the Apostle is by no means exhaustively explored solely by the investigation of his mystical experiences. For these cannot be taken to float isolated and self-contained in his experience of Christ. It is futile to attempt the separation of his peculiar religious experiences, to which he was liable in virtue of his possessing a constitution " plainly adapted to experiences of an unusual sort ", from that larger range of his religious life and thought which is revealed in the Epistles. It is the wealth and subtlety of thought and feeling in the Epistles which brings home to us the fact that the Apostle's religion is composed of more than one stratum and that to the riches of his Christianity all the strata have made contribution. Thus we must avoid the error of attempting to deal with two St. Pauls, the one the mystical experient, the other the Christian dialectician; the one the Christian ecstatic, the other the doctrinaire theologian. For the religion of the Apostle is essentially a combination and ever-continuous fusion of his personal experience of Christ and the thought which interprets that experience, a combination of his inspirational religion and his speculative skill. In him we have not only the

1 Lectures on the Epistles to the Corinthians. Lecture LVI.

2 Rufus M. Jones. Studies in Mystical Religion. pp. 11 & 12.

assimilation of "visionary" elements but the play of his consecrated reason upon what was given him in his peculiar personal experiences. If he had great unique experiences of Christ, he was also the first Christian theologian. His experiences and his theology must be taken together, for the life of Paul, as E. Reuss insists, is "the ¹key to his theology." Indeed we shall not come to a true understanding of the Paulinism of the Epistles if we do not see in these Epistles a magnificent endeavour to discover and impart the intellectual and theological implications involved in the data of the Apostle's own experience and, we may add, of the experience of the Church. "Paul's was a richly endowed nature", writes Pfleiderer, "in which the necessity of distinctness of knowledge and the power of consecutive thought were not less strong than the depth and warmth of his emotion. On that account Paul had no rest until he had brought the new conviction which had come to him outside Damascus into intimate relation with his previous convictions, had subordinated all details to this fresh centre, and had thus formed a new system of theological ²doctrine." While we are not prepared to accept strictly the view that the Apostle consciously formed a system of theological doctrine, we confess to being faced with a large amount of theological doctrine throughout the Epistles. It is with this theological doctrine and the religious experience which it reveals and at times adumbrates that we have now to deal. The question for us is whether or not there is here presented to us a Christ-mysticism.

¹ Hist. de la Theol. du Siècle Apostol., tome ii. p15.

² Hibbert Lectures. 1885. pp. 47 & 48.

III. The Mystical Terminology of St. Paul.

Before we proceed to discuss St. Paul's religion in its doctrinal expression one preliminary task must have our attention. It is very necessary that we examine the terminology of the Apostle, the words and phrases in which he clothed and presented those conceptions which give a basis for the contention that his Christianity has elements in it essentially mystical. For nothing can be more misleading in the elucidation of the thought of the Apostle than an inaccurate use of his terms of speech. To attempt to understand St. Paul by importing into his terms simply those meanings which have come to be commonly accepted by the modern mind is to remain blind to a very important source of knowledge regarding his thought, namely, the contemporary usage and the history of the words he employs. This is a field of enquiry which has been profitably surveyed of recent years by scholars of the school of comparative religion who work more or less from the side of philological investigation. So much has this method of study come into force that the once burning question of the authenticity of the Pauline writings has given place to the question of their terminology. That this way of approach to St. Paul is in a measure justified now meets with general acceptance, consequent on the labours of such authorities in the field of comparative religion as Deissmann, Bousset and Reitzenstein. They remind us that the writings of St. Paul inevitably reflect the influence of the life and thought and speech of the Apostle's own day: that while he himself was

versed in the lore of the Rabbinic schools and steeped in the the knowledge of the Septuagint, the very atmosphere of the Graeco-Roman everyday life around him, its Hellenistic thought and speech, its many religious cults and their religious terminology, must have penetrated his own life and thought at many points, particularly where he sought to commend his religion in the face of the prevailing paganism. Hence many of the terms and conceptions which are to be found in his Epistles are to be explained and their true meaning caught from the usage of them by the Apostle's contemporaries.[↑] It is on this interest in philological enquiry that Reitzenstein in particular lays great stress: "The history of a word, when it goes deeper to a history of the idea, can give us an ever-richer elucidation concerning problems, which we are able to approach in no other way; certainly in no province is a close co-operation of theology and the various philologies so necessary as in that of a proper history of religious language. Also in the case of an author like Paul the language itself, rightly examined, must reveal to us at least a part of his life's trend as yet not fully known and of his inner development, and this goal is alluring enough to justify even a groping attempt." While admitting the truth of this attitude, we have to assert on the other hand that it is not always safe to argue on the ground that similarity of language implies similarity of ideas. Indeed the use of the same term by two individuals may indicate not the coincidence of their ideas but really the dissidence of their ideas. A great deal depends

on the central idea to which the term is related and the particular use to which it is put. Moreover in interpreting the thought and speech of another, we can never wholly discount his personality. Nor can we ever eliminate the personal element in the language of St. Paul. Whatever he said he made it his own and it came with the whole force of his unique experience behind it. As T.R.Glover has succinctly put it: " Paul was not a man of vocabularies----- his words meant what he chose them to mean."¹ Keeping in mind, however, the truth that lies in both these views, we shall examine the terminology of the Apostle as we find it expressive of (I) the doctrine of union with Christ, (II) the doctrine of " knowledge ", and (III) the doctrine of salvation. It is not contended that these are clear-cut divisions in the doctrinal statement of St. Paul's religion as we find it in the Epistles. Rather they will be found to overlap again and again. They are sections only so far as they lend themselves to the convenient grouping of the mystical terms in the language of St. Paul.

(I) First of all then, we turn to the words used by St. Paul to express that which has been termed his central thought, viz., union with Christ. The outstanding expression here employed is *ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ* while cognate formulae are *ἐν Χριστῷ*, *ἐν Κυρίῳ*, *ἐν Ἰησοῦ*, and other pronominal equivalents. This expression in its variations occurs in our ' corpus Paulinum ' 160 times, of which 5 only are in the Acts. The frequency of its occurrence in the Epistles

¹Paul of Tarsus. p.114.

entitles it to rank as perhaps the most characteristic Pauline expression. Hence we have J. Weiss asserting that next to the great fundamental experience on which everything depends, it is important to grasp the significance of "being in Christ."¹ Has it a meaning all its own? In every passage where it occurs, is it used with the same significance? Is it the original creation of St. Paul? These are questions which Deissmann in his exhaustive monograph would answer in the affirmative.² He concludes regarding the formula "in Christo Jesu" that it is a terminus technicus created by the Apostle under indebtedness to a usage which lay to his hand in the profane or classical Greek and it characterizes the relation of the Christian to Christ as "a local comprehensive state in the spiritual Christ." This "being in Christ" is made clear to us only through the analogy of "sojourn in a Pneuma-Element comparable to the atmosphere." The Christian^s are "in Christ" Who is thought of as their life-element, as their life-sphere, in the same sense as the water is the life-element to the fish, and the air to the bird. So it is equally easy to grasp the meaning of the related formula "Christ in me."³ Deissmann finds the root-idea of this relation in the *ἐν* of pagan classical Greek and in a similar use of *ἐν* in the Septuagint where the preposition has a local significance due to the naive popular psychology which attributes the psychic potencies and

¹ Das Urchristentum, p. 341. ² Die N.T. Formel "In Christo Jesu".

³ How there can be a union of persons in the relation indicated is to be explained from the fact that to St. Paul the Christ of whom he has experience is always the Exalted "spiritual" Christ.

thence also the ethical qualities to the interior of man.¹ Abundant instances of this " psychological " use of *ἐν* are quoted out of extra-Pauline Greek from that of Homer down to that of P. Aelius Aristides and ample evidence is found to justify the acceptance of the " local significance " of *ἐν* before pronouns signifying living persons. To our mind, however, Deissmann is more convincing when he turns to the Septuagint for instances of this preposition expressing a local relation. Undoubtedly the Septuagint influenced St. Paul's idiom to a large extent and in it , in spite of a tendency of the Alexandrian translators to the mechanical rendering of the Hebrew *בְּ* by *ἐν* , he would find numerous instances of *ἐν* expressing a very intimate relation. In particular the formulae *ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ* and *ἐν τῷ θεῷ* repeated frequently in the Septuagint must have come readily to the mind of one trained in the first instance to piety through the Septuagint. Thus, for example, Habakkuk 3:18 *ἐγὼ θεὸς ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ ἁγαλλιάσομαι* sounds like an echo ⁱⁿ of Philip.3:1&4:4 *Χαίρετε ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ* The Psalms in particular supply many instances of the formulae *ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ* and *ἐν τῷ θεῷ* e.g. Psalm 44:8 *ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἐπαινεθήσομαι* and Psalm 73:28, *τίθεσθαι ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ τὴν ἐλπίδα μου* which remind us of I Thess.1:1 *ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ* and of the frequent Pauline use of *ἐν* after verbs expressive of ' glorying ', ' hoping ' and 'trusting '². e.g. II Cor.3:3 *καυχώμενος ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ* and II Cor. 10:17, Philip.2:19&24. To the new

1 op. cit. pp. 34-56.
2 For a very full list of such passages and a different view of them cf. J. Weiss, Das Urchristentum. p. 360 ff. notes.

Christian rallying-cry of ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ St. Paul ⁴⁹
 came from his acquaintance with the Septuagint ἐν θεῷ, ἐν τῷ
 θεῷ, ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ, and to that new Christian formula he brought
 the purely local and psychological meaning which he found in
 the Old Testament formulae. This is what Deissmann implies
 when he writes: "Paul the Christian's rallying-cry ' in Christ '
 is the more vivid substitute for the old sacred formula. "¹

Two things are here worthy of note regarding the use
 of ἐν to express a relation between Christ and the believer,
 viz., it seems to be a use which suffers no other preposition
 as equivalent to ἐν, and it is a use which appears to pass
 into the language of the early Christian writers from St. Paul
 himself. On the first of these points Deissmann is emphatic in
 holding that this ἐν as employed by St Paul can never be taken
 to be equivalent of δὲ or any other preposition: only ἐν can
 give the true local significance. In New Testament Greek δὲ
 with the genitive is used to express the efficient cause and
 also the agent or means. St. Paul has both these uses of δὲ;
 the former in Rom. I:8, V:1&17, I Cor. XV:21, and the latter in
 Rom. II:16, I Cor, I:21, Eph. I:5. But these examples do not give
 any indication of a state, condition or sphere such as is con-
 veyed by the ἐν of our formulae. Between that ἐν and the
 prepositions δὲ and εἰς used for example in I Cor. 8:6 and
 IICor. 1:5 there does seem to be a difference in meaning: a
 more intimate and local relation seems to be implied by the

1 The Religion of Jesus and the Faith of Paul. p.193

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former. While, however, we hold that there are in St. Paul innumerable passages where the *ἐν* admits only of a local relation being the proper interpretation e.g. II Cor.5:17, I Cor.1:30, I Thess.3:8, Philip.4:1&13, we are not prepared to insist that it in every case goes to make up an independent formula with an unvarying significance. As Weber has pointed out it must have been psychologically impossible both for St. Paul's readers and for the Apostle himself that the formulae "in Christ", "in the Lord" have always a meaning¹ equally living and equally developed. But the idea of an intimate relation was always in the formulae and the *ἐν* was employed to give it peculiar expression. That the formulae did convey this intimate relation and that the *ἐν* was bound up with the expression of it is obvious from the recurring use of St. Paul's terms in early Christian writings subsequent to the Epistles. Thus while the Synoptics never employ the words *ἐν Χριστῷ* or *ἐν κυρίῳ* and use the preposition *μετά* to express relation with Christ, St. Paul never makes use of *μετά* to express such a relation, and his formulae with their preposition *ἐν* are echoed again and again in later Christian writings. Not only is it likely that the frequent Johannine use of *ἐν* may largely have its origin and basis in the Pauline formulae, but the extra-Pauline writings in the New Testament show not a few approximations to these formulae, e.g. I St. Peter 3:16, 5:10&14; Acts 4:2,

¹ Die Formel "in Christo Jesu", Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift, pp.223&224.

13:39; I St. John 2:5&6&8&24; and the Apocalypse 1:9,14:13.

Very significant also are the formulae employed by Ignatius and Clement, the former preferring the order ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, the latter ἐν Χριστῷ. Both these writers make use of δόξα with the genitive to express the agent or instrument e.g.

I Clement 44:1, καὶ οἱ ἀποστόλοι ἡμῶν διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ cf. Ignatius. Ep. to Magnesians 5:2.

In the use of ἐν however, they seem to echo St. Paul, e.g. I

Clement, 38:1 σωζέσθω ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ and

46:6 καὶ κληῖσθε ἐν Χριστῷ The indwelling

of Christ so conspicuous in St. Paul's teaching finds expression

in Ignatius e.g. Ep. to Magnesians, 12:1 Ἰησοῦν γὰρ Χριστόν

ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς.

The indebtedness to the

Apostle is obvious. The union with Christ is everywhere expressed

by Ignatius by formulae like those of the Apostle, e.g. Ephes.

3:1, οὐκ ἔχω ἀπίστευστα ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ.

8:2 ἐν Ἰησοῦ γὰρ Χριστῷ πάντα πράσσετε.

11:1 μόνον ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ εὐεθῆναί εἰς τὸ ἀγαθὸν

ἔγω. (cf. Ephes. 20:2).

It seems, then, that this use of ἐν in the formulae found in St. Paul is made to convey a distinctive meaning, which finds an echo in later Christian writings. That this meaning was originally the Apostle's own though he found prefigurations of it particularly in the LXX and that he employed the ἐν to express a local spatial relation we may on Deissman's evidence admit, but we hold that this terminology, which was used by the Apostle without any clear

perception of the difference between a spiritual state and a relation in space, became to him like a well-worn coin, no doubt his own from the first but from frequent usage deprived of its singular significance and given an elasticity of implication according to the context in which it was employed. Deissmann himself is prepared to admit this: for he asserts that in reading the Epistles to the Colossians and to the Ephesians one has not seldom the impression " that the religious formula has already become the theological 'Schulwort'. Yet he persists " that it is still clear whose is the image and superscription "¹. We accept this dictum in the sense that these formulae bear the stamp of St. Paul himself and that they have for him a distinctive meaning. What this meaning is we may grasp from the formula which the Apostle employs as a parallel formula to *ἐν Χριστῷ ἡσθῶν*.

This latter formula is *ἐν πνεύματι* " in the Spirit ". The parallelism of the formulae " in Christ " and " in the Spirit " is noted by Deissmann. The latter he says, is connected, in nearly all the nineteen passages found, with the same specifically Pauline fundamental notions as the former. And we are to conceive of this *πνεῦμα* as some 'fluidum ' in which the Christian takes up a locus and by which he can be flooded " to have the Spirit ". The Christian is himself in the Spirit and the Spirit is in him. But is this reciprocal indwelling conceived of as a local relation? Certainly such passages as I Cor. 12:13, *καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι ἡμεῖς πάντες εἰς ἐν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν* and Gal. 3:27. 1 Die N.T. Formel.p.126.

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ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσαθε.,¹

seem to imply at least that the Christian lives and moves " in " that "[~~jense~~]göttliche Fluidum " which the word πνεῦμα, Reitzenstein informs us, was widely employed to describe. There is no reason to doubt that St. Paul was acquainted with this conception of " the Spirit " as the all-surrounding atmosphere of the quickened religious life; he would be influenced from the beginning by the Old Testament idea of " the spirit of the Lord " where "spirit " (ruach) designates that " power " of God breathed forth to inspire His Prophets. There is, however, this that is new in the term πνεῦμα as used by the Apostle; " the Spirit " to him is no longer an impersonal power but is identified with the Exalted Christ, whose mode of existence is conceived as spiritual " pneumatisch ". Moreover, " the Spirit " to St Paul is no longer revealed in ecstatic moods alone, but is the permanent possession of the Christian. There is a certain " spirit that is from God " (I Cor 2:12) which makes a man " spiritual " in the sense that with him is continually the direct power of God; and as a matter of practical religious experience this πνεῦμα is really the indwelling Christ. (Rom. 8:9&10).

It has been maintained, particularly by Reitzenstein, that St. Paul in his use of the word is influenced by the animistic conceptions of Hellenistic thought and in particular by the use of πνεῦμα in the Mystery -Religions.¹ The Pauline πνεῦμα is thus referred

¹ Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen. p.159ff.

back to the prevailing Mystery conceptions of the visitation of a god as, for example, that supplicated for in the Liturgy of Mithra (p.14.1.24&p.4.1.13): "abide with me in my soul: leave me not" and "that I may be initiated and that the holy Spirit may breathe within me". This conception of the *ἐνθεος* the person filled with the god was no doubt prevalent in the many religious circles of the Apostle's age, and in the use of the word *πνεῦμα* realistic notions would maintain their hold. The members of the Mystery cults would undoubtedly conceive of the *πνεῦμα* in terms of substance as well as power. But when we remember the derivation of *πνεῦμα* from *πνέω* to "blow" or "breathe" we can hardly attribute the emergence of such ideas as the indwelling of the Spirit and the living in the Spirit to contact with Oriental religions. Already in the religion of the Old Testament the conception of power in ruach as the Spirit of God comes to overshadow that of an imparted substance and the Apostle, steeped as he was in Hebrew piety, is likely to have passed beyond those animistic conceptions of *πνεῦμα*.¹ This is not to deny the Hellenistic bias in St. Paul's thinking which must always be taken into account in seeking an understanding of his doctrine of the Spirit, but we hold, his *πνεῦμα* connotes essentially what it meant to the earliest Christian teaching a supernatural power proceeding from God, which dwelling in man brought him into fellowship with God and bestowed by its creative energy a new life. There is then in this formula *ἐν πνεύματι* as in the formula *ἐν Χριστῷ* the promulgation of a reciprocal indwelling. Whether or not the *ἐν* always implies a local

¹ Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions. p.152.

relation, it must be allowed that both formulae describe an "intima alicuius cum aliquo conjunctio". Both states, *ἐν Χριστῷ* and *ἐν πνεύματι* express the consciousness of a divine power, "the sense of a divine encirclement and sustenance". For those who experience this encirclement and sustenance St. Paul employs the word *πνευματικός*. The *πνευματικοί* are those who have received "the spirit that is from God". They occupy the highest state in the ranks of the believers, equal to the *τέλειοι* (I Cor. 2:6) and the *προφῆται* (I Cor. 14:37). Their life in the Spirit is the work of the Divine *πνεῦμα* transforming their inner life their *ψυχὴ* and their *νοῦς* in opposition to the *ἁμαρτία* inherent in their *σὰρξ*. The *πνεῦμα* permeates their whole personality and they rise out of the carnal and earthly into the heavenly. For St. Paul this life *ἐν τῷ πνεύματι* is the normal life of the Christian: it does not mean a magical transmutation such as we find in the Mithra Cult where the *ἄνθρωπος* must leave behind his natural body on earth while he puts on the *πνεῦμα*.¹ A more probable parallel to the Apostle's use of the word *πνεῦμα* and one which he was likely to have in his mind is to be found in "The Wisdom of Solomon", 7:22ff. and 9:6&9-17, where the *σοφία* is described as breathed forth from God into man to make "men friends of God and prophets". The Apostle may have expressed this relation in spatial terminology, just as he may have used *ἐν Χριστῷ* to denote "the new life-atmosphere" but that is because the fusion of spirit with the living Spirit, experienced first of all perhaps

1 Reitzenstein.op.cit.p.33.

on the road to Damascus, was forever localised in the Lord the Spirit.¹

(II). Prominent in the terminology of the Epistles is the word *γνῶσις* " knowledge " In what sense does St. Paul use this word? Does he use it in the fixed or ' technical ' sense common to the Hellenistic Mystery-religions and Gnosticism in general, where *γνῶσις* implies a revelation, supernaturally imparted, of things divine and is itself a means of union with Deity? We find that while the Epistles reveal instances of *γνῶσις* employed in no strict Gnostic sense, yet the evidence appears convincing that the Apostle was aware of this technical meaning of the term and that in some respects his use of it was akin. Certainly he was not dependent wholly on the Hellenistic use of the term, since he would be acquainted with the Old

¹ There are to be found in the Epistles numerous terms and phrases indicative of the *κοινωνία* with Christ, e.g. *Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε* (Gal. 3:27), *κολλώμενος* (I Cor. 6:17), *σύμφυτος* (Rom 6:5), *ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἰς Χ. ὕ. εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθημεν* (Rom. 6:3). These terms and phrases express the closest cohesion of the believer with Christ. The terms *κοινωνία* and *κολλώμενος* and *σύμφυτος* themselves convey the meaning of an intimate union, (cf. Moulton & Milligan. The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament. on *κοινωνία* and *κολλώμενος*). These and other terms relative to baptism " into Christ " and " in the Spirit " do but emphasise in particular aspects what is denoted by *ἐν Χριστῷ ἵσθαι* and *ἐν τῷ πνεύματι* with regard to the spiritual life as a whole -- the closest union with Christ, which receives its full expression in Gal. 2:20 & II Cor. 5:17.

Testament usage of " the knowledge(¹ἐπίγνωσις) of God " as denoting something experienced in relation with God and derived from the meditative activity of the devout mind as it was also attained in ecst^astic states. Thus in line with this Old Testament meaning St Paul uses γνῶσις for the true knowledge which consists in a deep and comprehensive grasp of the real principles of Christianity. Burton in his Bampton Lectures may be over-²-emphatic in asserting that the λόγος γνώσεως of I Cor: 12:8, is merely the ability to understand and explain the Old Testament, but it is noteworthy that early Christian writers³ employ γνῶσις for a perfect knowledge of the Gospel. Irenaeus, for instance, says that the " true γνῶσις is the doctrine of the Apostles ", while the Epistle of Barnabas employs γνῶσις for the mystical interpretation of scripture. When therefore we find that St Paul in I Cor.13:2 subordinates γνῶσις " the apprehension of eternal mysteries"⁴ to Love, and when we find further that this γνῶσις^{of} the Apostle is the handmaid of a practical sober morality, we may be inclined to relate this γνῶσις of the Epistles to that σοφία which in the forefront of Proverbs and to that σοφία which in The Wisdom of Solomon " is an initiate into the knowledge of God, and a chooser of His works "⁵. Such prefigurations and later applications of the term " knowledge " lend support to the contention that γνῶσις

1 cf. Proverbs 2:5, Isaiah 11:2. 2 p.361. 3. cf. I Ep. Clement.c. 1.p.147, c.36.p168.c.40.p.170.c.41.p.171.; Irenaeus.IV.33:8.p.27
4Lightfoot. Colossians2:3. 5 VIII:4.

in the Pauline writings is not a technical term and was not such in the early Church as a whole.¹

We have however to remember that this word was undoubtedly a technical term in the religious thought of St. Paul's contemporaries, particularly in the thought of that wider Hellenistic world from which he drew so many of his converts, and that further he must have been acquainted with the Hellenistic content of the term. To the adherents of the various cults and types of syncretistic religion the word *γνῶσις* conveyed many different ideas, such as the actual participation in the Mysteries, the knowledge of the sacred rites, the viewing of the sacred symbols, the acquaintance with the sacred names, the knowledge of the sacred literature itself, and the purely intuitionary vision of things divine in emotional ecstatic states. In general this *γνῶσις* was a *γνῶσις Θεοῦ* transcending conceptual thought and eluding intellectual grasp, a gift of God's grace resulting in the union of the initiate with Deity and his rebirth into a new state of blissful life. This *γνῶσις* both enlightens men and draws them into the world of the supernatural beyond their earthly body. Such was the technical sense of the term which, it is asserted, entered into Christianity with St. Paul. "The belief that Oriental gnosis has affected the peculiar religion of Paul, and that this factor helps to elucidate the undeniable distance between the Pauline Christianity and the gospel of Jesus is, in my estimation, indisputable".² In this

1. Harnack. Die Terminologie der Wiedergeburt und verwandter Erlebnisse in der ältesten Kirche. XLII. pp. 128. an. 1.
2. Wendland. Die Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur. p. 178.

opinion Wendland is at one with Bousset and Reitzenstein, the latter of whom in his volume " Die Hellenistische Mysterienreligionen " strongly advocates the view " that Paul knows and imitates the technical use of the word $\gamma\acute{\nu}\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ ".² The argument of Reitzenstein is based largely on the use of the word in the Hermetic Literature upon which he draws for many quotations e.g. the conclusion of the Hymn of Thanksgiving to God: " We thank Thee, O Most High, that we through Thy grace have received this light of $\gamma\acute{\nu}\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$; delivered by Thee (or transposed into salvation) we rejoice that Thou hast shown Thyself completely to us, we rejoice that Thou by vision of Thee hast made us in our earthly body divine; only one request we have, that we may remain preserved in Thy $\gamma\acute{\nu}\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ and never ^{lose} this new life in it ".³ Here we have the full content of $\gamma\acute{\nu}\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ put before us: it is the highest 'vision' of God, an immediate experience of and approach to God, which makes an essential change in a man and indeed bestows upon him a new and divine life. The ultimate blessing derived from this $\gamma\acute{\nu}\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ is deification: " τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τέλος τοῦ $\gamma\acute{\nu}\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ ἐσχατόν θεω θῆναι ".⁴ A word of large implication and of mystical meaning this $\gamma\acute{\nu}\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ undoubtedly was in the Hellenistic religions. But we must be careful to avoid finding its full Hellenistic meaning in the $\gamma\acute{\nu}\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ of St. Paul. It is possible in this connection to over-emphasise the value of the

1. Kurios Christos. p.140. 2. p.43. 3. p.42. 4. Poimandres. § 26.

evidence produced by Reitzenstein from the Hermetic Literature. since that literature is now recognised to be of a date considerably later than the first century A.D.¹

Still, the term *γνῶσις* must have had a long history and was undoubtedly used in the religious speech of St. Paul's day to convey the meaning of "knowledge" arising out of and mediating acquaintance with the supernatural world of divine mysteries hid from sense and reason. Thus a first century document, quoted by Deissman², declares of a citizen of Olbia that *μέχρι τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν γνῶσεως προκο[ν]αντος*. "he had advanced to personal acquaintance with the Augusti". Does the Apostle ever use the term in a sense akin to this? Certainly he never employs the term as the *μύστις* of the Hermetic Literature employs it to convey identity with Deity: *τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τέλος τοῖς γνῶσιν ἐσχηκόσι θεωθῆναι*². But the Pauline *γνῶσις* shows affinity with the Hellenistic *γνῶσις* in that it does not imply merely rational knowledge arrived at through man's native powers. It is revealed by the Spirit of God inwardly. It is the result of possessing the Divine *Πνεῦμα* and is therefore supernatural in its origin, a supernatural *χάρισμα* (I Cor. 12:8)

1. W. Scott, *Hermetica*, Introduction, p.10. "the conclusion to which I have found myself led is this--that the *Hermetica* which have come down to us were most of them, if not all, written in the third century after Christ. Some of them may have been written before the end of the second century; but probably none so early as the first century".

2. *Poimandres*. § 26.

which St. Paul groups with the other " gifts " of the Spirit. Hence only the πνευματικός can have γνῶσις : it is not attainable by the ψυχικός (I Cor.2:14). What seems to be essential for the Pauline γνῶσις is fellowship of spirit: it arises out of the fellowship with Christ: " I count all things but loss on account of the surpassing worth of the γνῶσις of Christ Jesus my Lord----- that I may win Christ and be found in him ----in order to know (γινῶσκω) him and the power of his resurrection and the fellowship of his sufferings--- if haply I may attain to the resurrection from the dead ". (Philipp.3:8-10) Here there is emphasized far above the intellectual ratiocinative side of " knowledge " its essential dependence upon a living relation (cf.I Cor.13:12, Gal.4:9). One aspect, however, of this relation to Christ is undoubtedly present to the Apostle in his use of this word γνῶσις , namely, the speculative aspect. Indeed there are passages in the Epistles where the Pauline γνῶσις consists in part of a higher wisdom than the wisdom of this world. It is a higher γνῶσις which is largely speculative Christology. The first two chapters of Colossians where St. Paul is dealing with a false γνῶσις and the second chapter of I Corinthians where he refers to " the wisdom of God " " the deep things of God " and " the Lord of glory " are outstanding examples of this speculative γνῶσις : " the full assurance of understanding (συνέσις), to the acknowledgment (ἐπίγνωσις) of the mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ; in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge (γνώσεως), Col.2:2. It is to be noted that this

speculative insight into " the mystery of God " is dependent upon the gift of God's Spirit (I Cor.2:10) and is thus of supernatural origin. Elsewhere St. Paul indicates this supernatural origin of $\gamma\acute{\nu}\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ when he associates it with " revelation " ($\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\upsilon\psi\iota\varsigma$): $\pi\acute{\nu}\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\ \sigma\acute{\omega}\phi\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\upsilon\psi\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\gamma\acute{\nu}\omega\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ (Eph.1:17), and $\lambda\alpha\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega\ \eta\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\upsilon\psi\epsilon\iota\ \eta\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \gamma\acute{\nu}\omega\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \eta\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \pi\omicron\phi\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ (I Cor.14:6). This is not surprising in one who had gone through the experience of the " vision " ($\acute{\omicron}\pi\tau\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$) on the Damascus road, and who could speak of his conversion ^{thus:} " it pleased God --- to reveal ($\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\upsilon\psi\epsilon\iota$) his Son in me " (Gal.1:16). But this must not be taken to imply that the Pauline $\gamma\acute{\nu}\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ is the outcome of purely ecstatic states. For with St. Paul the Spirit is the organ of Divine revelation and the Spirit while it has special manifestations, which distinguish it from the mere exercise of human reason, is an abiding possession so that apart from purely ecstatic states the $\gamma\acute{\nu}\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ as a $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ of the Spirit is possible to all who have experience of Christ with Whom in effect the Apostle identifies the Spirit. ¹ The $\gamma\acute{\nu}\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ which lightens every believer is the $\gamma\acute{\nu}\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ " of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ " (II Cor.4:6).

It would appear, then, that there are two main strains in the meaning which $\gamma\acute{\nu}\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ has for St. Paul: it is a supernatural gift conveyed by the Spirit and implying close fellowship with Christ, and it is also a

1. E.F.Scott. The Spirit in the N.T. p.183. cf. Morgan. op. cit. p.168.

speculative activity of the Spirit-led mind in the deep things of God. There is a certain affinity of conception here with the *γνώσις* of the Graeco-oriental Mystery-cults, and in particular the second strain is closely akin to the *γνώσις* of the early Christian Gnosticism with its mythological speculations regarding the realm of the Pleroma. This affinity with the content of *γνώσις* as a technical term in Hellenistic religion has been argued by Reitzenstein from the Pauline use of certain terms employed in the Hellenistic Mysteries and the Hermetic Literature. " The metaphor for *γνώσις* is always Light " he says, " and no expression is more frequent than *τὸ τῆς γνώσεως φῶς* Hence is *φωτίζειν* in the Hermetic Writings as in Paul (II Cor. 4:6) attributed first of all to *γνώσις* ".¹ Now St. Paul uses the word *φῶς* very much as it is commonly used in English, to express the contrast to darkness *τὸ σκοτός* ; to express a supernatural heavenly light (II Cor. 11:14, Col. 1:12); metaphorically to express spiritual truth and its effects on men (II Cor. 6:14, Eph. 5:13, Rom. 13:12); and to express the source from whom truth shines forth (Acts 13:47, Rom. 2:19, Eph. 5:8). There are only two passages in which *φωτισμός* appears (II Cor. 4:4&6) " the light of the glorious gospel of Christ ", and " the light of the knowledge (*γνώσεως*) of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ ". *φωτίζειν* occurs in three passages: " the eyes of your heart being enlightened (*πεφωτισμένους*) that ye may know

1. Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen. p. 142.

(ἐκδέναι) the hope "(Eph.1:18); " to enlighten (φωτίσαι⁶⁴) all men (Eph.3:9); and " the Lord who will bring to light (φωτίσει) the hidden things of darkness "(I Cor.4:5). Reitzenstein traces this φωτίξεν to the holy birth-feast of the μύστης in which the garment of the heavenly body is donned and that heavenly body effects the φωτίξεσθαι, which at one time means enlightenment through knowledge, at another physical illumination, and at another simply consecration, with an undoubted reference to the illumination at a night-festival.¹ In the process of time the actual power of such a ceremony was transferred to the message of salvation communicated through such a feast of lights. Clemen quotes in support of the Mystery use of φωτίξεν by St. Paul the practice of the sacred meal which conferred enlightenment, a practice which was perhaps in the mind of the author of Hebrews when he wrote: "those who have been once enlightened (φωτισθέντες²) and have tasted the heavenly gift ".(Heb.6:4). Kennedy on the other hand inclines to the view that these words expressive of illumination can be traced to those passages of the Septuagint where translation is made of the Hebrew נִחַם or its derivative נִחַם in the sense of " spiritual illumination ": " The manifestation of thy words will enlighten (φωτίξει) and instruct the simple " (Psalm 119:130); " The Lord is my light (φωτισμός) and my Saviour " (Psalm 27:1). Further in the Septuagint version of II Kings 17:27&28 we find φωτιῶσιν and φωτίξεν in the sense of " teach " , a sense which is perhaps prominent in Eph.3:9: " to enlighten all men upon the fellowship of the mystery ", where φωτίσαι is parallel to

1. op. cit.p.31.

2. op. cit. p.345.

ἐν γὰρ ἐξουσίᾳ in the preceding verse. These conceptions of religious "knowledge" as "light" and "Illumination" are not likely to be traced to any one source. They may go back to Persian dualistic religion and to the Mystery cults, but at any rate they entered into the Hellenistic religious cults of St. Paul's day.¹ The Apostle applies them to the living person Jesus Christ (II Cor. 4:6) as the source of spiritual illumination, and in this he is followed by St John. It may be that he owes his use of these terms to that signal illumination described in Acts 9:3, 22:6, 26:13 and possibly referred to in II Cor 4:6, in all of which passages φῶς is employed. In any case he is using the figurative speech which is prominent in the mystics of all ages when they seek to express their experience of God and their grasp of things divine: e.g. "the superessential Radiance of the Divine Darkness" (Dionysius the Areopagite); "leave thy body and fix thy gaze on the uncreated Light" (Albertus Magnus); "the blessings of the Divine Light" (St. John of the Cross); "And from the Face of the Father there shineth forth a clear light upon the soul". (Ruyssbroeck).

For the sphere in which this higher enlightening "knowledge" exercises itself St Paul employs a word that obviously has mystical associations, viz., *μυστήριον* or in its plural form *μυστήρια*. The term occurs more than a dozen times in the Epistles and is one of the terms that reveal² the influence of the Mystery-religions on the Apostle. The term itself may be

1. Bousset. *Kurios Christos*. p. 200.

2. Lightfoot. *Colossians* 1:26.

taken always to include the notion of " something kept secret " ⁶⁶
 whether it be held to have its derivation in *μυσ* " I close
 my lips " or in *μυέω* " I furnish with entrances (initia) ". ¹
 In either case the term is fittingly used of the plan, plot,
 counsel into which associates fit to help in its execution are
 drawn (cf. I Cor. 4:1). Thus in the syncretistic religions of the
 Apostle's age the *μυστήριον* meant in the first place the secret
 cult performance, also the written ritual which was supposed to
 confer power from itself, and lastly the power conferred in the
 practice of the cult. According to Reitzenstein *μυστήριον*
 in the Hellenistic Mysteries signified " all whatsoever is
 necessary to *γνώσις* and all that *γνώσις* confers "; ²
 and he further contends that where St. Paul speaks of *μυστήρια*
 as in I Cor. 13:2, the reference is to the mystical vision of
 God. The *μυστήρια* are " alle Geheimnisse und alle Kraft des
 Schauens " -- things to be revealed only in a suprarational manner. ³
 Undoubtedly in the Hellenistic use of *μυστήριον* there is the
 prevailing notion of something secret and not to be revealed to
 the profane mind. Does St. Paul employ the word in this Mystery
 technical sense? Certainly it is so used in The Wisdom of Solomon
 with which the Apostle was well acquainted. There he would find
 to hand a use of *μυστήριον* very similar to that revealed in the
 Mysteries e.g. XIV:15 & 23. He would also be acquainted with the
 Septuagint use of *μυστήριον* as designating "secret purpose",
 e.g. Daniel 2:18, 3:47, 4:6., where it is used of the unexplicated
 dreams of the king and he who is able to explain the dreams is
 able to foretell the happenings of the future. The Synoptic use

1. G. H. Whitaker. Expos. Times. Vol. XXX. No. 9. 2. op. cit. pp. 106-
 -119. 3. Historia Monachorum Lausiaca p. 252.

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is very much in line with the Septuagint e.g. in Matthew 13:11, Mark 4:11, Luke 8:10, where *μυστήριον* signify the secret hidden purpose of God concerning His kingdom, which hidden purpose is revealed in the work and teaching of Jesus. While therefore in the classical and Mystery use of *μυστήριον* there is prominent the notion of something hidden and not to be revealed, the New Testament use of the word emphasises that which is now come to light and is now to be freely communicated. So St. Paul's *μυστήριον* is the "secret purpose" of God revealed in Christ: it includes all that is implied in the redemption in Christ. Undoubtedly the Pauline "mystery" refers to the inclusion of the Gentiles in the Divine Kingdom (Eph. 3:3&4, Col. 1:26&27, Rom. 16:25), but in Eph. 6:19 it has the wider significance of the summing up of all things in Christ: while in II Thess. 2:6-8 there is the notion of a hidden process to be revealed at the Parousia (cf. I Cor. 15:51). In this last passage there is a distinctly eschatological note (cf. Rom. 11:25, Eph. 1:9, Col. 1:26&27). That the "mystery" is something that has been made manifest or is still to be made manifest is obvious from the frequent conjunction of the word with verbs expressive of 'revelation' e.g. *ἀποκαλύπτειν* (Rom. 16:25, Eph. 3:5), *φανεροῦν* (Col. 1:27), *γνωρίζεν* (Eph. 3:3), *φωτίσειν* (Eph. 3:9). There are, however, significant passages in which the "mystery" may be taken to convey not so much God's hidden purpose revealed in Christ with regard to the Gentiles as the effect of Christ upon the individual believer. In I Cor. 2:1-10 St. Paul is arguing from his determination not to know anything save Jesus Christ

and him crucified, and the "mystery" of which he there speaks seems to be a saving and illuminating relation to the Saviour. Again, Colossians I:27: "this mystery among the Gentile, which is Christ in you, the hope of glory" identifies the indwelling Christ with the "mystery". The Christian "mystery" lies in a relation between the believer and his exalted Lord. This significance of *τὸ μυστήριον*, argues Dr. Percy Gardner,¹ is the substance of St. Paul's preaching: the "mystery" of the inclusion of the Gentiles has at its heart this great secret revealed in the believer-- the indwelling Christ. It is in union with Christ that there lies the wisdom greater than that of this world, that mysterious wisdom of God (I Cor. 2:7) which is a saving *γνώσις*. We find ourselves in agreement with Dr. Gardner in this view. We believe that behind all such phrases as "the mystery of Christ" and "the mystery of the Gospel" there is this personal significance for the Apostle, what Deissmann calls 'das Wirken Christi' the redemption revealed in Christ and the reaction to it on the part of the redeemed. St Paul the missionary may glory in the wider significance of the *μυστήριον* but essentially for him it is the grace of God in Christ Jesus which he elsewhere can only express "Christ in me" and "in Christ". That this notion is as much in the word *μυστήριον* as the notion of the promulgation of Christ's saving work to the Gentiles can be inferred from I Cor. 2:7 where *θεὸν σφύριζεν ἐν μυστηρίῳ* is employed in no evident connection with the enlightenment of the Gentile world: while in Colossians 1:27 we have

1. The Religious Experience of St. Paul. p.78.

the words τὸ πλῆθος τῆς δόξης τοῦ μυστηρίου τούτου⁶⁹
 coupled with ὅς ἐστιν χριστὸς ἐν ἡμῖν,
 where μυστήριον is by no means the ingathering of the Gentiles
 but the indwelling of Christ, the act of God's grace in Christ
 within the individual. Is [it] not this relation of Christ to the
 believer and of the believer to Christ "In whom are hid all the
 treasures of wisdom and knowledge" (Col. 2:3) the very core
 of the "mystery" made known unto St. Paul by "revelation"?
 Certainly in Ephesians 5:32, where human marriage is referred to
 as a parallel union to that of Christ and the Church, the words
 τὸ μυστήριον are used of a close inexpressible union,
 a mystical union in which the unseen order is known and reflected
 in the visible human order.

To designate those who ^{possess} the highest degree of γνῶσις,
 those who have attained to φωτισμὸν τῆς γνώσεως,
 St. Paul employs the word τέλει. This is a term in all
 likelihood borrowed from the Mystery-religions where it is used
 to distinguish the fully initiated from the novices. Now it is
 quite true that nowhere in the Epistles do we find the conception
 of the stages in mystical communion and membership as it is
 everywhere present in the Mysteries, viz., Katharsis, Mesis
 and Eopteia. There are, however, certain Pauline terms expres-
 -ive of different intensities of the Christian θεοῦ σοφίαν
 ἐν μυστηρίῳ (I Cor. 2:7). The Apostle uses the word
 μεμύημαι "I have been initiated" (Philipp. 4:12) in one
 passage only and that in a context which is quite unmystical,

1. Lightfoot. Colossians. 1:28. note p. 236.

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so that from this one instance we cannot infer that it was used in any but a figurative sense. The use of τέλειος may be much more significant, especially when taken with the contrasted term νηπιός. In the Septuagint νηπιός is the translation of the Hebrew יְלִיד or יָרֵב both of which mean "children" in their characteristics of 'simplicity' and 'ignorance' e.g. Psalm 18(19):3, Prov.1:32. St. Paul, while he uses νηπιός in the sense of "infants", "children", has also this meaning of 'simplicity' and 'ignorance' in his mind.² But a more significant use of the word occurs in I Cor.3:1 ὡς νηπιός ἐν Χριστῷ where the contrast is with πνευματικός, and σαρκίκοις is given as the equivalent of νηπιός. Then in Ephesians 4:13&14 νηπιός is directly contrasted with τέλειος, while in I Cor.14:20 the verb νηπιόω is contrasted with τέλειος γίνεσθε: "in evil be mere infants but be τέλειος in your intelligence". Where νηπιός is thus contrasted with τέλειος it seems to mean one whose spiritual perception is in its early stage of growth, one in whom the Spirit is no doubt active but not yet powerful enough to wage successful war against the flesh. Reitzenstein, in commenting on the phrase νηπιός ἐν Χριστῷ as applied to the Corinthians emphasises the verse: "I have fed you with milk" (I Cor.3:2) and contends that this conception of νηπιός is parallel to that found in the Mysteries where the drinking of milk signifies the beginning, the drinking of wine the completion, of deification.³ In the Hermetic Writings again the νηπιός are those in whom the Nous has a mere vegetative existence. It is quite probable that The Wisdom of Solomon was

1 I Cor.13:11, Gal.4:1. 2. Rom.2:20, Gal.4:3, Eph.4:14.

3. Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen.p.181.

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one of the sources from which St. Paul derived the word as there, in XII:24 *νηπίων ἀφρόνων* " children of no understanding " is used of the heathen as idolaters. The same contrast of *νήπιος* and *τέλειος* is found in Philo, De agric:2." milk nourishment for children (*νηπίος*) and cakes of wheat for the mature (*τελείος*) ". These terms *νήπιος* and *τέλειος* were current in the religious phraseology of St. Paul's time and were used by him to express stages of the Christian " knowledge " of which *τέλειος* marks a higher stage, as adults are superior in knowledge to babes. Kennedy contends that the term "mature " would, roughly speaking, suit all the Pauline passages in which *τέλειος* is used. But Reitzenstein contends that there is a more exact significance in the term as a technical term; it conveys in the Mysteries the meaning of a change into a new heavenly existence. The *τέλος* is the vision of God, whereby the Divine Nous comes upon a man and makes him a *τέλειος ἄνθρωπος*. This meaning was also laid hold upon by the Gnostics who called themselves *τέλειος* and claimed that in virtue of being so they were changed in essence, cf. Refutation of Hippolytus 196:16, 198:3&38: *τὸ ἐξελικνισμένον τέλειον γένος ὁμοούσιον*. Still later in time the Historia Monachorum attributed to Rufinus (5th century) asserts that alongside the man within the Church there exists a superman and what distinguishes the latter ^{as} *ἀναμάρτητον καὶ τέλειον* ² is a complete difference of being or essence. This later use is, of course, traced by Reitzenstein to the Mystery-Religions.

1. St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions. p.133.

2. Reitzenstein. Historia Monachorum. pp.78-79.

Lightfoot commenting on Colossians 1:28 would admit that St. Paul was indebted to the Mystery terminology and suggests that under the influence of that terminology the early Christians applied τέλειος to the baptized as contrasted with the catechumens, e.g. Clem. Hom. XI:36: βαπτίσας ἥδη λοιπὸν τέλειον οὖτα On the other hand early Christian writings use the word or its equivalent without any reference to baptism, e.g. I Clement, 49:5. ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ ἐτελεώθηςσαν πάντες οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ and Ignatius. Ephes. 15:2, "the word of Jesus" makes its possessor τέλειος. Very important for the Pauline meaning are I Cor 13:10 "when that which is perfect is come" and Philipp. 3:15, "as many as be perfect". The context of the latter especially (cf. v. 12) indicates the presence of ideas of growth, progress and anticipation in the use of τέλειος. It may be that St. Paul sees, with regard to his converts, the end in the beginning, but it is more likely that the Apostle, while countenancing a current mystical term known to his hearers, had always before himself as the main content of the word, the idea of a fuller and ever-progressing possession of that wisdom which is higher than the wisdom of this world, that wisdom which is conveyed by the Spirit (I Cor 2:10). It is the continued endowment of this Spirit, which is in the Apostle's mind when he identifies the τέλειος with the πνευματικὸς (I Cor 3:1ff), and which he trusts to effect that progress εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον who is advanced beyond him who is as yet νήπιος (Eph. 4:13&14). The Pauline τέλειος is thus he who has the highest degree of γνῶσις, gnosis of the wisdom of God "in a mystery". This

γνώσις is no doubt conceived as a supernatural gift of the Spirit, but we do not find that its recipient is supernaturally complete. The idea of a higher mystical state of spiritual life is there in St. Paul, but not the Mystery-Religion idea of the τέλειος as a complete God-transmuted being. The Christian is still subject to the daily inward renewal (Col.3:10) and he is τέλειος who experiences the most full and continued ἀνα-καίνωσις, the most intimate and constant union with Christ, in whom are hid all the treasures of σοφία and γνώσις. (Col.2:3).

(III). From the term τέλειος we may pass naturally to those terms which St. Paul employs to express the work of Christ upon the individual and upon humanity. Foremost among these terms is the word σωτηρία with the verb σωθῆναι and the denominative σωτήρ. The last of these occurs but twice in our Epistles (Eph.5:23, Philipp.3:20) and twice also in Acts (5:31&13:23). Reitzenstein contends that the Apostle avoids this word as he avoids other technical terms of the pagan religions, while Bousset finds in the more frequent use of it in the Pastoral Epistles, 2 Peter and 1 John, a reflection of the Graeco-Roman conception of the ruling Caesar as "saving god". Both Reitzenstein and Bousset would postulate of St. Paul a use of σωτηρία and σωθῆναι corresponding to and affected by the Hellenistic use. The Apostle would find, however, in the Septuagint the frequent use of σωτήρια as the translation of the Hebrew הַיְשׁוּעָה or $\text{הַיְשׁוּעָה$ which convey the idea of deliverance from physical and material ills as later

1. Reitzenstein. Die Hellen. Myster. p.117 & Bousset. Kurios Christos. pp.293-301.

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the Hebrew terms had Messianic significance (cf. Psalm 24:5, Isaiah 12:2&62:11). The "saviour" and the "salvation" had for the Jew not only national but spiritual and religious import, and it is therefore likely that in St Paul as a Jew these words σωτηρία and σωθῆναι express in the main that which is spiritual, release from spiritual disabilities. This content for σωτηρία is undoubtedly prominent in the Epistles. There it is deliverance from sin, from the pains and penalties of sin, from death the consequence of sin. Sometimes it is spoken of as present (I Cor.1:18,15:2,II Cor.2:15), sometimes as past (Rom.8:24,Eph.2:5&8), sometimes as future (Rom.13:11, Philipp.2:12), and everywhere the σωτηρία is regarded as accomplished by Christ (Gal.1:4,Philipp.3:21,Rom.5:9). It is to be noted,however, that this σωτηρία is spoken of as resulting from " the gospel "(I Cor.15:1&2) and also from " grace" (Eph.2:3), from " faith "(Eph.2:8), and from participation in Christ's life (Rom.5:10). There is much therefore to be said for the view that the Pauline σωτηρία is just life lived from a certain point of view, life lived as man's response to the saving grace of God revealed in the Cross of Jesus Christ. Such a view attributes a subjective side to the σωτηρία, even though it is dependent upon the work of Christ. And this subjective side of the σωτηρία finds countenance in St. Paul, who calls upon the Philippians (2:12) " work out your^{own} salvation with fear and trembling". Salvation (σωτηρία) is thus not a completed thing: it is rather a process to be worked out in and through a certain relation to Christ.

1 cf. Kennedy. St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions.p.218.

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It must be admitted, however, that the Pauline σωτηρία lends itself to a much wider significance than this. For it is quite clear that the Apostle conceives of salvation not merely in spiritual and ethical terms, but also in metaphysical terms as a change into another state of existence. The σωτηρία is a salvation, a release from the misery of a purely human existence, a passing out of the domination by the sin, the weakness of the flesh, the law, and death; in a word a release from the complete system of this world. Those who are numbered among the " saved " have left behind them this whole present world.¹ We shall see why this idea of salvation as a new changed state is able to exist in the mind of St. Paul alongside the ethical and spiritual mode of salvation to be worked out " in the flesh ". What we would here note is that it is in this Pauline doctrine of σωτηρία as an actual death and an actual rising into a new life that the Apostle comes near the meaning of the terms σωτηρία and σωθῆναι as employed in the mystical religion prevalent in his day. The Pauline use of these terms, writes Reitzenstein, corresponds to the Hellenistic use of them. What is the distinctive implication of σωτηρία in Hellenistic religion? In the Mystery-Cults it is the imparting of a genuine Divine life in a transformation of essence by means of a ritual act or a mystic vision. Thus in the Phrygian cult of Attis the mystagogue on unearthing the sacred pine addresses the initiates: " Be of good cheer, initiates the god has been saved (σάσωμεν): thus for you also shall there be salvation (σωτηρία) from your troubles ". Again

1. Wrede. Paul. Eng. Trans. p. 102.

in the more spiritual religious mysticism of the Hermetic Writings σωτηρία is dependent upon a γνῶσις which results in deification, e.g. " God is not ignorant of Man; nay, right well doth He know him, and willeth to be known. This is the sole salvation(σωτηρία) of Man----the knowledge of God. This is the way up to the Mount Olympus. By this alone the Soul becometh good: not sometimes good and sometimes evil, but good of necessity ".(Poimandres.X:15): " this is the blessed issue for those who have attained knowledge, to be deified(θεωθῆναι) " (Poimandres I:26), where ¹θεωθῆναι is the positive designation for the new being. Here we have the σωτηρία which is a completed actual state, the heavenly body of the initiate being uplifted out of this mortal lot into contact with that Nous wherewith God is filled. Σωτηρία ² is thus a character indelebilis, to which the subsequent life of earthly activity can contribute nothing. It is a dying and being born again once for all, a παλιγγενεσία resulting in a μεταμορφοῦσθαι and a μεταβάλλεσθαι since the μύστης has in his νοῦς the γνῶσις of God and enjoys ' vision ' of the Highest God ". ³ Akin to this, and yet different to it, is the Gnostic use of σωτηρία . To the Gnostic mind σωτηρία denotes release and redemption from the material world, from that which clogs the spiritual part of man. In the system of the Alexandrian Gnostic, Basilides, those who constitute the third sonship, the πνευματικοί attain their deliverance through the illumination of their intellect by the light which is sent down

1.Reitzenstein. op.cit. p.114. 2. Kennedy.op.cit.p.216.
3.Reitzenstein. op.cit. pp.27&36.

from the Absolute in and through Christ, whose Gospel is defined as *ἡ τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων γνῶσις*. (Hippol. VII:27), " the knowledge of those Divine things which are above the world, in the region of the non-existent God ". To these regions the Gnostic must ascend by the saving *γνῶσις* of Christ.

Is there in the Pauline *σωτηρία* this notion of a " change of being " to the extent that the saved live in the higher world as God or as part of the Deity? An affirmative answer to this question has been found in the Apostle's use of the terms *εἰκών* and *δόξα* and of the phrase *σῶμα πνευματικόν*. Here we are told ^{by} ~~of~~ Reitzenstein and Bousset there is a reflection of the Hellenistic idea of a complete change of being, a kind of *ἀποθέωσις*, a *μεταμόρφωσις* such as cannot be derived from the Septuagint translation of *בְּצַדִּיק* (Gen I:27) into *εἰκών* and of *יְיָ* (Exod.33:18) into *δόξα*. To St Paul Christ is the *εἰκών* of God (II Cor. 4:4, Col.1:15) while man is the *εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα θεοῦ* (I Cor. 11:7). With regard to God the *δόξα* is the revealed nature of the Deity, the manifested energy of God and as such it forms the characteristic expression of the *εἰκών*. Now St. Paul clearly attributes this *εἰκών* and this *δόξα* to the *σῶμα πνευματικόν* (Philipp.3:21). He asserts that at the Parousia the believer will be assimilated to Christ's own body, the characteristic of which will be *δόξα* (I Cor.15:49), but he elsewhere conceives of the *σῶμα πνευματικόν* as the believer's present possession, able here and now to manifest the *εἰκών* and the *δόξα* of the heavenly body. (II Cor. 3:18.cf. Col. 3:10).

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Here then we have a conjunction of word and phrase which cannot be taken wholly as a metaphorical figure for an inner moral change or merely as a statement of a future glorious state. The idea of an inner moral change is no doubt strongly insisted on throughout by St. Paul (cf. II Cor. 4:16, Philipp. 3:10), but there is no doubt also that to the Apostle's mind the believer undergoes some transformation of the natural (*ψυχικός*) body, putting on the *εἰκὼν* and *δόξα* of God in Christ. Hence we have Bousset's contention in agreement with Reitzenstein that such passages as I Cor. 13:12 and II Cor. 4:6 refer to a transformation similar to that presented by the Mystery conception of "Vergottung": "As the *μύστυς* in the *ἐποπτεία* sees the light-raying Deity, so has Paul seen the divine *δόξα* in the face of Christ".¹ No clearer evidence of this Pauline *μεταμόρφωσις* can be found, asserts Bousset, than that afforded by II Cor. 3:18, a verse which to his mind is "soaked with mystic piety". This contention is of course in line with Bousset's view that the Pauline originates and finds its completion in the experience of the act of baptism. In that act of baptism, as in the imitative acts of the Mysteries, there is an actual "dying and rising", a rebirth into a new state of existence, a *παλιγενεσία* or *ἀναγέννησις*.² The Mystery-cults of St. Paul's day were emphatic on this *παλιγενεσία* (rebirth) and *ἀναγέννησις* (new birth), and the Hermetic Literature abounds with references to the new 'birth in Nous'. But it must be insisted on the

1. Kurios Christos. p. 293. note 3. cf. Reitzenstein. Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen. p. 212.

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other hand that St. Paul nowhere employs the terms *παλιγγενεσία* and *ἀναγενήσας*. The words that he employs are all indicative of the *καὶνὴ κτίσις* "new creation" (II Cor.5:17, Gal.6:15) while the verb that he chiefly employs is *ἀνακαίνω* "to make new" (II Cor.4:16, Col.3:10.cf. Rom.12:2). Furthermore it is significant that the Apostle does not employ the figure of 'dying and rising' solely in connection with baptism: he employs it in connection with "his Spirit that dwelleth in you" (Rom.8:11), and where the changed life is indicated in language most significant of union with Christ there is no mention of baptism at all (Gal.2:19&20). While we find, therefore, that the Pauline *σωτηρία* does imply in the believer a more subtle transformation than a merely moral change, and that the Apostle does conceive of the *σῶμα πνευματικόν* as a new *μορφή* revealing even now the heavenly *εἶκόν* and *δόξα*, we believe the solution of the expressions, at times inconsistent, found in the Epistles to be first of all that insisted upon by Wrede that the whole Pauline conception of *σωτηρία* is "characterized by suspense; a suspense which strains towards the final release, the actual death. The earthly life is not the setting in which salvation becomes complete",¹ And this complete *σωτηρία* denotes for St. Paul, in addition to the undoubted moral regeneration, what he found in the Risen and Exalted Christ revealed in him. Thus it is that we may find that the essential characteristics of the complete *σωτηρία* is to be drawn from the Christ-vision on the Damascus Road. The *σῶμα πνευματικόν* bearing the *εἶκόν* and manifesting the *δόξα* is the changed life after the "image" of the Exalted

1. Wrede. Paul. Eng. Trans.p.105.

and Living Christ. In other words the change is a change in the inner self of man, the arising of Christ in the still living man. This change is brought about by that which is to St. Paul a present reality, the Spirit, always to the Apostle a supernatural force which enters man, dwells, and works and acts within him. The believer is in the Spirit [am] just as once he was in the flesh, and in the Spirit the believer has a foretaste of the future life. Thus the realisation of σωτηρία is something attainable here and now, and the believer is changed "into the same image from glory to glory, even as from the Lord the Spirit". (II Cor. 3:18). We have seen, however, (p. 52) that St. Paul in no way distinguishes that which happens ἐν πνεύματι from what happens ἐν Χριστῷ and the Pauline σωτηρία as σωτηρία ἐν πνεύματι is thus really σωτηρία ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. This σωτηρία, while it is always the work of Christ (Philipp. 3:20), is by no means purely a deliverance from our earthly nature, far less is it a θεοποίησις but it is a re-casting of the whole personality by participation in union with the Exalted and Living Christ, the saved having experience of His Risen and Transcendent Life². Perhaps no better interpretation of the Pauline σωτηρία has been given than that conveyed by the Epistle of Barnabas 16:8-10: "For he who desires to be saved looks not to the man but to Him who dwells and speaks in him".

1. cf. Reitzenstein. Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen. p. 112. 2. cf. Romans. 6:3f. & 8:11.

If we ask how St. Paul conceives the individual man to come into possession of this σωτηρία the answer is " through faith " δὲ πίστewς (Eph.2:8). Here in the Greek word πίστις we have " one well-known technical religious term which is a short and comprehensive expression for all that stream-¹ed through him and took effect from him ". It is through this πίστις that full σωτηρία comes upon the man persuaded of Christ. The gospel of Christ is " the power of God unto salvation (εἰς σωτηρίαν) to every one who has faith "(παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι)². What meaning then does the Apostle seek to convey through this word πίστις and the verb πιστεύειν? Undoubtedly there are present to his mind the Hebrew ideas of " trust " confidence in Jehovah to fulfil His promises e.g. Abraham's אֱמֶנָה (Gen.15:6) and of " faithfulness " on the part of man, e.g. " the just shall live in his faithfulness "(Habakkuk 2:4). Dean Inge disputes this latter rendering of the Hebrew אֱמֶנָה but sees in it something of the full Christian meaning as " an enduring attitude of the mind and heart towards God "³. In any case it is not to be disputed that in St. Paul the Old Testament loyalty to God and the Law, which tended to become a mere species of work gives place to a loyalty to and a trust in the living person Christ. Thus while there is hardly one of the ordinary uses which is not represented in the Epistles of St. Paul, and while " he glances from one to another as the hand of a violin-player runs over the strings of his violin "⁴, there is this that is new in contrast

1. A. Deissmann. The Religion of Jesus and the Faith of Paul. p. 202. 2. Romans 1:16&17. 3. Faith and its Psychology. p.5.

4. Sanday and Headlam. Romans. I.C.C. p.34.

to the Jewish use of the word " faith " ----- the idea of an enthusiastic adherence and loyalty to a person. This is the centre and mainspring of the Pauline πίστις, that which he has ever in view when he ascribes to faith the decisive significance which he does ascribe to it; it is " enthusiastic adhesion, personal adhesion "¹; it is again and again defined by St. Paul as πίστις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ² or πίστις Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ ³ or πιστεύειν εἰς (αὐτὸν) Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν. ⁴

It is in connection with the above phrases that Deissmann discusses the meaning of πίστις and πιστεύειν, his conclusion being that πίστις and πιστεύειν for St. Paul do not denote "glaube an" (belief on) but "faith-in". Christ is the sphere in which πίστις comes to life. Πίστις is therefore not merely a matter of intellectual belief in the historic Christ and His teaching nor a confidence in the "work" of Christ: it is belief, faith, which comes to appearance "in Christ". ⁵ In other words the πίστις of St. Paul is a personal relation to Christ, a surrender of one's whole personality to the Saviour and life in the Faith means the same as "Christ liveth in me". Here is a new and peculiar content given to πίστις, a content to which a mystical union with Christ is essential. The word indeed reveals an entirely novel element in Pauline Christianity: the Apostle gives it a content all its own, a content which he

1. Sanday and Headlam. Romans. I.C.C.p.34. 2. Gal.3:26,5:6, Col. 1:4.Eph.1:15. 3. Gal.2:16&20,3:22,Rom.3:22&26,Eph.3:12,Philipp.3:9. 4. Gal.2:16, Eph.1:13, Phil.1:29. 5. Die N. T. Formel.p.103.

he certainly did not owe to the Mystery-cults of the time, for though the word *πίστις* was not absent from the language of Mystery ritual and religion, it did not convey the qualities of personal trust and conviction or result in a morality for the average man. The Pauline *πίστις* is on the contrary always an *ἐνέργεια* (Gal. 5:6) *πίστις δὲ ἁγίας ἐνεργουμένη*. Nor can a conception of *πίστις* in any way similar to that present to the Apostle's mind be found in the syncretistic religious philosophy of the Hermetic Writings where *πίστις* seems to be identified with concentration of thought and ecstatic reflection, "and having thought (*περὶ νοήσας*) over all things, and found all to be in accord with that which has been expounded to it by speech, the mind believes (*ἐπίστευσε*) and finds rest in that goodly belief (*πίστευε*). And so, if men grasp with their thought what I have said, they will believe *πιστῶ* it; but if they do not grasp it with their thought (*καὶ νοήσας*) they will not believe it".² Here *πίστις* is really subordinate to the higher knowledge or *γνώσις* and is not the thing St. Paul called *πίστις*, embracing as it did the noetic quality of belief, the moral quality of loyalty, and the religious quality of absolute trust in a Person. To explain the presence of these qualities constituent of the Pauline faith we have to go not only to his acquaintance with the Old Testament ideas, but to his own personal experience, particularly that experience on the road to Damascus when faith in the Person Jesus Christ "became the well-spring of his Christianity".³ Hence it is that the "faith" of St Paul can only

1. S. Angus. The Mystery-Religions and Christianity. pp. 287ff
 2. W. Scott. Hermetica. pp. 184-187. cf. Reitzenstein. Die Hellenistisch-religiösen Mysterienreligionen. pp. 94-96. 3. H. St. John Thackeray. The Relation of St. Paul to Con. Jewish Thought. pp. 90-91.

be defined in terms of an intimate relation with Christ. It is *πίστις ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ* (Rom.3:22), *πίστις ἰησοῦ* (Rom.3:26), *πίστις τοῦ νέου τοῦ θεοῦ* (Gal.2:20) as it is *πίστις ἐν χριστῷ ἰησοῦ*. It is a *πίστις* which has as its object and sphere of existence a Christ with whom the Christian is identified in a fellowship, which involves a reciprocal indwelling of Christ in the believer and of the believer in Christ. Faith in Christ thus denotes a mystic union. Thus, while we may dissent from Bousset's derivation of the title *κύριος* from the Cult-life or from the Hellenistic world, we assent to his view of the Pauline "faith": "The faith, the *πίστις εἰς χριστὸν ἰησοῦν* is for the Christian the organ, with which he comprehends the present reality of the Spirit, the Lord".

When to our estimate of the terminology used ~~used~~ by St. Paul we bring a knowledge of the context in which the terms occur, that context which Acts and the Epistles afford us for the understanding of the Apostle's life and doctrine as a whole, it is surely borne in upon us that his religious experience is greater than the terms which he employs, and that it is this religious experience which indeed dominates whatever use he makes of language common to the religious outlook of his world. Indebted as he undoubtedly is to the religious terminology and ideas of the Old Testament and of late Judaism and at the same time showing traces of the influence of the language peculiar to the Hellenistic religious cults, it must be

1. G.B.Stevens. The Theology of the New Testament. p.423.

2.Kurios Christos.p.179.

said of him that " he is not a man of vocabularies ". We must allow his tendency, nay his ability, to make use of religious terms which he found lying ready to his hand. Thus he would use the technical terms of the religions of the Hellenistic world and lead his hearers to catch the Christian interpretation, and no doubt these hearers found in the words of the Mystery-Religions a tutor leading on to Christ. But for the Apostle himself the Greek Mystery-worship with its technical language must have been but symbols of a passing era. There was that in his own experience which had the power to make all things new. Out of his own experience there had arisen in him One who filled all his horizon and who was destined to fill all hearts with the fulness of that knowledge of God and the power of God unto salvation, after which all hearts yearned.

From the terminology of St. Paul we pass now to that which it sought to convey, the Apostle's religious experience and his more or less consciously developed theology. What we have to deal with now is the groundwork of his Christian experience and the expression he gives to that groundwork in his Epistles. First and foremost, the special form in which he experiences Christianity, stands his 'union with Christ'. Over and over again the Apostle speaks of his life "in Christ" and of his fellowship with Christ in His death and resurrection.¹ "In Christ", "Christ in me", and "Christ in you", these are the expressions in which St. Paul has stated the central fact of his religion. A union of the believer with Christ, of Christ with the believer, this is writ large upon all the Apostle's revelation of himself and upon all his preaching of Christ. An attempt has been made to elucidate the precise content of these expressions by means of a lexical examination of the preposition "in". But while we are ready to admit the view that this "in" conveys the idea of a spatial relation, we believe that the meaning of these expressions is ^{not} exhausted when we say that Christ is the atmosphere or element in which the Christian moves and has his being.² We believe that the emphasis in the investigation of the Pauline phrases expressive of union with Christ must be shifted. It must be shifted to the word "Christ". What does St. Paul mean by "Christ"? What is his conception of Christ? That appears to us to be the main line of fruitful investigation.

1. cf. II Cor. 5:17, Gal. 2:20, Rom. 6:3ff. 2. Glover. Paul of Tarsus. p. 212.

We must know how this Christ stands revealed in the mind of the Apostle before we can enter into the secret of his relation to Him. It is significant that Deissmann himself has suggested this point from which investigation might proceed: " To answer this problem, it is necessary to take notice of the other question, how Paul has conceived the mode of existence of the living Christ and especially of His relation to the *πνεῦμα*. Perhaps the peculiarity of the *ἐν* will explain itself by the peculiarity of the person united with *ἐν* ¹." In other words it is the Christ-conception that is likely to give the Pauline formulae their full content. It is the " Christus-anschauung " that is likely to be the entrance-door to the the Apostle's " union with Christ ".

How then does St. Paul conceive of Christ? And how does he present Him in his Epistles? We propose to answer this question along three lines of the Apostle's thought. He conceives of Christ as a Divine Person, as a Presence, and as " the Spirit ". (1) The Christ of St. Paul is a Divine Person, an heavenly Being, the Exalted One who was pre-existent from all eternity, and in Whom all things in heaven and earth alike are to be gathered up. ² This is a Christ who has the value of God. It is quite true that St. Paul never expressly calls Christ *θεός* but it is nevertheless true that the Divinity of Christ has with him become a central belief. From the very

1. Die N.T. Formel. p. 84. cf. Weber. Die Formel " in Christo Jesu ", Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift. Vol. 31. No. 5. p. 218.
 2. I Cor. 15:24ff., Eph. 1:4&10, Col. 1:15, 3:1.

outset, if we take the testimony of the Epistles to the Thessalonians, he rarely employs the human name "Jesus" (two times) or the designation "Christ" (four times) while repeatedly using the title *κύριος* (twenty-two times). In so doing, whether influenced by the Old Testament designation of God as "the Lord" or unconsciously falling into the form of address prevalent in the cult-worship of his time, St Paul presents the Christ, the Risen and Exalted Jesus, as the object of worship. Thus early in his Epistles the Apostle reveals the central fact of all his later Christology, that Christ is to him a Divine Being existing in a supernatural sphere and manifesting Himself in a supernatural manner. It is the non-earthly Christ, the Divine Being, Who fills the whole horizon of St. Paul. He assigns to Christ the same functions as to God and the same attributes, and transfers to Christ the very words used in the Old Testament to express the lordship of the one God. This confession of Christ's lordship is the confession of His Divinity.¹ It may be argued counter to this view that St. Paul nowhere give to Christ the name of "God"; that in certain passages Christ as the Son is subordinated to God;² and that in the eschatological sections the final subjection of the Son unto God is emphasised. But these eschatological presentations of Christ hold in the later Epistles a less important significance as the centre of view shifts from the future Parusia to the work of Christ in the present. Moreover, these same eschatological sections show us "that nothing less

1. Hastings. Dictionary of the Apostolic Church. Art. Christ. Bousset. *Kurios Christos*. p. 185., Glover. Paul of Tarsus. p. 229.
 2. I Cor. 3:22ff., 11:3., Philip. 2:11., I Cor. 15:28.

than a divine prerogative of the highest order is ascribed to Jesus, when He is thus described as the future Judge, a prerogative which in the Old Testament belongs to God, and to God only.¹ Even if the much-quoted proof-text, Romans 9:5, be translated not " Christ, who is over all, God blessed for evermore " but " God who is over all be blessed for evermore ", there are yet other statements of St Paul which can only mean that he esteems his Christ as Divine. God and Christ are brought into a connection incompatible with a simply human view of the Lord's Person. The Christ of the Epistles is Divine not merely in the sense of possessing the attributes of God, but in the sense of possessing the essence of God the Father.² Lightfoot lends all the weight of his authority to this view of the Pauline conception of Christ. Commenting on Colossians 2:9: " in him has its fixed abode all the plenitude of the Godhead " he takes the reference to be to the *θεότης* the essence of God, as distinct from the *θεολότης*, the quality. The same authority interprets the statement as to the pre-existent Christ in Philippians 2:4-11: " who being in the form of God " as applying not to the external accidents but to the essential attributes, the possession of the *μορφή* involving participation in the *οὐσία* also. Can we not say, then, that in bestowing upon Christ the Old Testament title of Lord and in ascribing to Him all the fulness of the Godhead St. Paul has very far over-stepped the limits of Christ's humanity? Christ is far more to him than the Christ made of a woman and of the seed of David, far more also than the heavenly

1. Knowling. The Testimony of St. Paul to Christ. p.41.

2. Lightfoot. Colossians. p.247.

awareness of, a loyalty to, a faith in , a person. Not as a
 vague world-force but as a Person Christ towers above all the
 speculative expansions of His being and work. It is quite true,
 of course, that in these speculative expansions, prominent as
 the^y are in the later Epistles, " the solid outlines of person-
 ality have faded and dissolved and the conception of an im-
 material, impersonal, all-pervading being has stepped into its
 place ".¹ Yet, as Weiss² elsewhere admits, when we leave the
 upper stratum of the Apostle's speculative thought and come to
 the sphere of true religious feeling, of daily work and prayer,
 we find that in the latter sphere " all his abstract speculat-
 ions are blown away like smoke and his soul stands before that
 which we call a ' personality ' ".² For St. Paul to live is
 Christ, Christ who loved him and gave Himself for him. The Christ
 is here the Divine Person who once in the flesh worked a work
 in the world and who yet works upon the hearts of men from a
 supernatural sphere; not an abstraction but a living Christ
 entering into fellowship with all who acknowledge Him as Lord.
 The Pauline Christ is thus pre-eminently the personal Lord,
 the historical, the super-historical, and the present.³ The
 passion in St. Paul's Christian life, his glorying in his
 weaknesses, his desire to fill up the sufferings of Christ
 can only be explained from the Apostle's constant remembrance
 of the historical tradition concerning Jesus; and those passages
 in the Epistles which vibrate with fervent emotion and enthus-
 iasm find their central appeal in the great significant events

1. Weiss. Das Urchristentum. Vol. I. cap. 15. 5. 2. Paul and Jesus.
 pp. 22 & 23. 3. Weber. op. cit. p. 225.

of the earthly career of Jesus. It is true however that whatever was St. Paul's knowledge of Christ after the flesh, he tends more and more to regard it as a thing to be transcended, since the Christ whom he now knows is a Christ Transcendent and Exalted. This Exalted Christ does indeed retain the features of the earthly Jesus and the Apostle is ever mindful of the salient facts of the life of Jesus and by no means forgetful of the teaching of the Jesus of the Gospels, but it is the heavenly aspect of Jesus that predominates in the Epistles. St. Paul's testimony to Christ is the presentation of an Exalted Person, bearing the titles ' Son of God ' and ' Lord ', belonging to the sphere of the Divine.

This then is the Christ with whom St. Paul has intimate fellowship---a Divine Christ, One essentially " deity". How did this conception originate? It is possible to find its origin in the Damascus experience, where the Apostle undoubtedly experienced a 'vision' of the Risen and Glorified Jesus. From that moment there lives in him a Being, a Person, from another world. From that moment he believed in a Divine and Eternal Saviour. Wrede has pointed out that there were conceptions present in the Judaism of St. Paul's time which might have influenced him to regard Christ as a pre-existent Divine Being.¹ Certainly it was never asserted by Jesus Himself that He was Divine, possessing the essential nature of God. Nor did His disciples ever conceive of Him as " deity ": their furthest advance in that direction was their use of the titles " Son of Man " and " Son of God ". Granted also that the early

1. Wrede. Paulus. Eng. Trans. p. 86.

Christians identified Jesus with the Messiah and that the Resurrection confirmed and established that belief, so that the expectation of an earthly deliverer was transformed into the hope of a future heavenly deliverer(I Thess.1:10),yet they had no idea of referring the sufferings and crucifixion of their earthly Master as the signs and proofs of His Messiahship. There is no evidence that the Jews at the time of the Advent interpreted Isaiah LIII of a suffering Messiah and such a conception of a suffering Messiah, suffering even unto death, was so far removed from the orthodoxy of Jewish belief that during the lifetime of Jesus it was by no means likely to arise in the minds of the disciples. Now it is just the suffering, the Cross of Jesus, which with the Resurrection are emphasised by St. Paul to indicate not the humanity of Jesus but the Divinity of Christ. " Christ crucified " takes the highest place as not only Incarnate God but eternally and essentially God. Granted further that St. Paul was acquainted with the Stoic and Philonic doctrine of the Logos as the living principle underlying all things, as the creative Demiurge, as a second (~~person~~) Divine Being, we have yet to account for the fact that the Apostle's Christ still shows amid unearthly pre-existent and post-Resurrection glory " the face of Jesus ". All these considerations point to the conclusion that this " Christ " of the Apostle is peculiarly his own, received not of men, not the product of mere human wisdom, but somehow "revealed in " him. Henceforth the religion of the Apostle is changed into the faith in the Divine nature of the man Jesus, into fellowship with a Christ Who is a Being endowed with all

the essential qualities of deity, into a personal relation with a Divine Person.

(2) The Christ of St. Paul is a 'presence'. The author of a recent volume on St. Paul has therein written of him: " the fact is that he was preoccupied with the daily presence of the Risen Lord. Historical Christianity was to him the basis on which this communion rested; but it faded into the background before the present reality."¹ J. Weiss has expressed the same opinion : " At moments when he (Paul) conceived judgments *ἐν Χριστῷ* , the personality of Jesus was before his mind and directed his course "². That is to say Christ to the Apostle is always a felt 'presence', the nexus between the two being the most intimate feeling of nearness. We are not referring merely to those ecstatic moods of the Apostle when " the angel of God stood by him " (Acts.23:11, 27:23 cf.16:6&7), though in such states St. Paul seems to have visualised the 'presence'. We are referring to the Apostle's consciousness of Christ as a continual present reality. It is the presence of Christ to the consciousness of the believer that is taken by Prof. Weber as the basis of his explanation of the Pauline formula " in Christo Jesu ". He contends that in the Apostle's mind Christ is the present Lord. Behind the formulae expressive of union with Christ lies " die Gewissheit einer Gegenwart "³. Similarly Dr. E. F. Scott writes: " The historical Christ becomes an universal presence, dwelling in the hearts of men----- he (Paul) thinks of Christ as an

1.C. T. Wood. The Life and Letters of St. Paul.p.75.
2.Paul and Jesus. Eng. Trans. pp. 115&116. 3. op. cit.p.226.

as an inward and abiding presence, with whom his people are mystically united ".¹ The first apprehension of this presence has been traced to the Apostle's conversion-experience. " He then came in contact with a being who, without any material instrument, was able to produce the most powerful effect on his thoughts and intentions, and from that influence he never became free again. During his whole life afterwards Christ was with him everywhere, a guiding, warning, inspiring, comforting, all-powerful presence, so that he spoke of himself as being in Christ, of his life as being not his own life but Christ living in him ".² Prof. Menzies goes on to say that this ' presence ' so immediate, so enveloping, so intimate, enabled the Apostle to be independent of other kinds of knowledge about Christ; and that this was an experience which St. Paul " considered to be true also on a larger scale of all believers and of the Church ". Surely there can be no stronger statement than this of the Apostle's conception of Christ as a ' presence '.

We have, however, but one statement only from St. Paul (and that a doubtful one) where he speaks directly of the presence of Christ. In II Cor. 2:10 he writes: " for your sakes forgave I it in the person of Christ ". Dr. Moffat renders the *ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ* " in the presence of Christ ". Dr. Plummer on the other hand is not certain as to whether the meaning is " in Christ's stead " or " in conspectu Christi " " with

1. The Spirit in the New Testament. p.186. cf. Bousset. Kurios Christos. pp.179-180: " a living presence ruling and fulfilling the personal life of the Christian. " 3. A New Translation of the New Testament. 4. II Corinthians. Notes pp. 48&49.
2. A. Menzies. Pauline Studies. pp.305&306.

" Christ as a witness ". It may be that here St. Paul has in mind his own view of the final judgment " in Christ Jesus " , and so professes that his own judging is done in the presence of the final judge, Christ. If so, then in this passage he speaks of the presence of Christ. But are we dependent upon the actual use of the word ' presence ' with reference to Christ? Is there not this element ever present in the Apostle's religion --- the thought , the consciousness of the presence of God and of the presence of the living Lord as mediator and bearer of God's presence? There is a sense of saying and doing everything in the sight of God and in union with Christ, which is characteristic of St. Paul's whole nature. e.g. " we speak before God in Christ " (II Cor.12:19). He lives at all times in the consciousness of God's presence. He "stands before " God; his walk is before God; his speech, his faith, his care for his churches, his prayers are all exercised in the sight of God.¹ This consciousness of being in the presence of God is seen further in the conception of the ecclesia of God, which He overrules, which is His temple². Again it is prominent in the description of the working of the Spirit and of the gifts and operations of grace.³ In passages relative to justification the Apostle speaks of " justified in his sight " and " justified in the sight of God " while he deprecates elsewhere " glorying in his presence ". From such passages we infer that the idea

1. II Cor. 8:21, 4:2, 2:17; 12:19, I Thess. 3:9, II Cor 7:12, Rom. 14:22, I Thess. 1:3, Rom. 1:9. 2. Gal. 1:13, I Cor. 1:2, 10:32, 11:17&22, 15:9, II Cor. 1:1, 6:16, Eph. 2:21. 3. I Cor. 12:3ff., Rom. 8:9, 4. Gal. 3:11, Rom. 3:20. I Cor 1:29.

of the believer living his life in the presence of God occupies a large place in the thought of St. Paul. But to him the presence of God really means the presence of God in Christ. When he speaks of doing anything before God, he means that he is conscious of the presence of God in Christ. The presence of God can only be truly experienced in and through the revelation of God which is Christ, and God is present to the believer when Christ is present. The Apostle's religion is indeed a continual recognition of the presence of Christ. Out of his awareness of the presence of Christ he speaks of himself as in the service of his Lord, regards himself as the slave and bond-servant of Christ and declares himself to be constrained by His love. He speaks further of his "ways in Christ Jesus" and of obedience and subordination as fit and well-pleasing "in the Lord" (Col. 3:18). He is "under the law to Christ" (I Cor. 9:21) and Christ is the secret of his power (II Cor. 13:10). So vividly realised can the presence of Christ be that the experiences and powers of Christ are transferred to the believer. Believers acquire the "bowels" and the "mind" of Christ. His "meekness and gentleness", His "peace", govern them; while His "weakness" His "sufferings", and "afflictions" are revealed in them. In such fashion the life of the individual as the life of the Church is dominated by the personal Lord who operates as a "presence", and to be a Christian is "to live in the presence of the living Lord, is to be drawn into and exist in His life through the experience of His operative presence".¹

1. Weber. op. cit. p.233.

This experience of the object of religious belief as a ' presence ' is not exclusively a Pauline experience. It was the widespread assumption of the Hellenistic religions of the Apostle's day that the believer found his highest bliss in the presence of his god and in the experience of that presence within himself. Thus the *Κάτοχοι*, the " possessed " of the Mystery-cults preferred, e.g. Apuleius, to dwell within the sacred precincts and thus to enjoy the closest personal communion with their deity. The desire for the experience of the divine presence within oneself, God's presence in the soul, was in St. Paul's age " a normal feature of piety ". But in general the ' presence ' in which the Hellenistic religions found satisfaction was the product of vague emotion or ecstatic contemplation: it was the ' presence ' of a god more or less mythical or symbolical, or as in the Hermetic Writings it was the presence of an abstraction without form and life. Such a ' presence ' the fruit of mere subjective emotion and contemplation was void of the elements of living personality. This is not the case with the Christ-presence which rules the life of St. Paul. The Christ of the Apostle is not a Christ subjectively called up in his mind. Nor does this " presence " which he experiences lack objective foundation. The Christ-presence is more objective, more solid, than that; it holds within itself the whole living personality of Jesus Christ. It is a well-defined " presence " of which St. Paul is conscious, a " presence " which receives its content from the Person Jesus Christ, the historical and the Exalted Christ alike. Weber² has strongly insisted on this objective

1. W. Morgan. op. cit. pp.132&133.

2. op. cit. pp.241-245.

reality behind the Pauline Christ-presence. In his discussion of the Apostle's use of the term " in the Name " Weber argues that "the Name " signifies the presence of Christ to the consciousness of the believer and that " with the Name there comes into view the person, what he signifies, what he is ". It is because the Name signifies the personal presence that St. Paul exhorts " in the Name " and " through the Name " , that is, puts himself in Christ's presence and speaks as " in the presence of Christ ". The Apostle appeals to his hearers that in word and work they may do all " in the Name of the Lord Jesus " , considering themselves as in His presence.¹ The " Name " is not therefore mere " sound and smoke " ; it signifies a reality, the presence of Christ as a real powerful actuality. In I Cor. 5:4 St. Paul asserts that from a distance he will gather with the Corinthian church with his spirit " in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ " , and in I Cor. 6:4 he affirms that the Corinthians are washed, sanctified, justified " in the name of the Lord Jesus " , the reference being in both cases to that divine power and that divine personality, the mysterious presence of Christ which dwells in the soul of every believer and is the source of every higher emotion. The " Name " is here equivalent to the realisation of Christ as a " presence ". The same notion is to be found in the Johannine writings, where reference is made to the life that the believers in Christ have " in His Name " and to preservation in the " name of the Father " . In Acts also the Name is presented as that in which alone men can be saved and in which the Apostle had preached.³ In the Pauline use of " the

1. Col. 3:17, Philip. 2:10. 2. St. John. 14:13ff., 15:16, 16:24&26, 17:11ff., 20:31. 3. Acts. 4:12, 9:27ff. cf. 5:40, 5:28, 9:5&13.

Name " we have the Apostle's consciousness of the Risen Christ as " presence ". " The Name " stands for the realised presence and in itself is effectual in preserving the earthly features of Christ's personality but also the transcendency of the Risen Lord. " The Name " is He and again not He. He remains still transcendent, mystically present in the Name. It may be argued against this view of " the Name " put forward by Weber that St. Paul in employing the phrase " in the name of the Lord Jesus " means nothing more than " by the authority and as the deputy of the Lord Jesus ". But the close connection which the rite of baptism maintains with the utterance of the Name discounts this somewhat bald meaning, for in the rite of baptism the " Name " seems more to signify " a religious potency into which as into a spiritual atmosphere the adult catechumen or the initiated infant is brought ".¹ For St. Paul this " religious potency " is the presence of Christ. He has experience of Christ as a "presence ". Whatever he says or does "in the Name " he says or does in the presence of Him whom the Name brings before his consciousness. The phrase reveals one of the Apostle's abiding certainties, the certainty of Christ as a ' presence '. Now it is quite a common feature of intense religious experience to be conscious of a ' presence '. Dr. Rufus Jones, writing of George Fox, Quaker and mystic, observes that " he is never solitary or isolated; he is always visited and companioned; he is always within hail of an infinite Helper--- The thing which Fox makes central for his type of

1. Gordon Clark. Art. " Name " in Hastings Dictionary of the Apostolic Church.

Christianity is the continued presence of Christ as a living active Spirit in immediate contact with the inner life of man, producing in the responsive soul a new creation--- Fox maintained that salvation is a vital process wrought out in man's own life by a divine indwelling presence operating there, which, after the manner of St. Paul, he calls--- " the Spirit " or " Christ in you ". " ¹ Here is the conception of Christ as " a continuous presence " and **confessedly** derived from or at least influenced by St. Paul's conception. That latter conception, we must always remember, involves the existence of a Person, the Messiah who had been manifested in the Crucified Jesus, now the Risen and Exalted Christ. The Lord who lived on earth dwells in the Apostle as a divine presence.

(3). St. Paul conceives of Christ as " the Spirit ". On the one hand there is the Exalted Christ, a supernatural divine Being and on the other there is the believer to whom this divine ^{Being} is a ' presence '. The relation as we have pointed out is a relation of union, and union of " persons ". But " persons " cannot strictly speaking unite in the sense of inter-penetrating each other and becoming inclusive the one of the other. We cannot conceive of one person, if unitary personality is to have any meaning, breaking through the confines of another person. We do not find, however, that the Apostle is conscious of this difficulty when he speaks of being " in Christ " and of Christ being " in me " because in the first place he conceives of Christ as permeating force or

1. Hibbert Journal. October 1924. p.36.

power. Christ dwells in the soul of the believer as a " power " *δύναμις* and operates in that believer as an " energy " *ἐνέργεια* . The Pauline Christ, says Deissmann, is an energy and he upholds the view that this is a characteristic technical expression. ¹ There is this power present to St. Paul as Christ is present and in which he " can do all things " ² . It is a " power of Christ " resting on the Apostle, and " the power that worketh " in him. ³ Most significant is the passage, Col. 1:29, where St. Paul speaking of his labour to " set everyone before God mature in Christ " concludes " I labour for that, striving for it with the divine energy *ἐνέργειαν* which is a power *δύναμις* within me ". Here we have the indwelling of Deity as a supernatural activity, for *ἐνέργεια* in the New Testament and the Papyri has always the meaning of a superhuman influence, and the appropriation of that Deity who energises, as an all-pervading power *δύναμις* within. The same attribute of " power " is also included in Spirit of God or the Holy Spirit. The Apostle speaks of " the power of the Holy Spirit " by the power of the Spirit of God " and " in power, and in the Holy Spirit " ⁴ . To be " in Christ ", " in the Spirit " is thus equivalent to being the vehicle of a supernatural power, which dwells in the believer as *δύναμις* . This supernatural " power of God " (I Cor. 1:24) is Christ or the Spirit. The fact is that St Paul conceives of the mode of existence of the Exalted Christ as spiritual. Christ is, according to His peculiar

1. The Religion of Jesus and the Faith of St. Paul. p.188.

2. Philip.4:13, Rom.8:37. 3. II Cor.12:9, Eph. 3:20. 4. Rom.15:13& 19, I Thess.1:5.

being, Spirit.¹ Now we have seen that the Apostle employs the word *πνεῦμα* very much as it was used in the Old Testament to express the Divine force which is breathed forth from God into the hearts of men, and to the Apostle Christ is not only "spirit" in His essential being, He is "the Spirit" the power breathed forth from God. St. Paul identifies Christ and "the Spirit". He does not merely say "The Lord is spirit" but "The Lord is the Spirit" (II Cor. 3:17). "Christ is thus the Spirit Himself personified, the Divine Spirit in the form of human individuality".² Bousset is quite content to accept this identification of Christ and the Spirit on this one passage alone: "The Christ-belief of the Apostle is comprised quite essentially in one passage and this runs 'Now the Lord is the Spirit'." But in Romans 15:13-19 the identification is present to the Apostle's mind, "the power of the Holy Spirit" of verse 13 being obviously equivalent of "Christ" in verse 18 and throughout. Again the words of Romans 8:9&10 are significant: "If Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin, but the spirit is life because of righteousness". This is the passage that is taken by Prof. Kennedy³ to be decisive, but there are other passages which taken with those above-quoted somewhat detract from Bousset's statement that in this connection St. Paul has asserted "what is most important in parenthesis". The fact is that the Apostle finds himself quite unable to keep the two conceptions "Christ" and "the Spirit" entirely separate. The Spirit and the Risen

1. Weber, op. cit. p. 238. cf. Deissmann. Die N. T. Formel. p. 84.

2. Sabatier. The Apostle Paul, Eng. Trans. p. 332. 3. St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions. p. 136.

Spiritual Christ are for him practically indistinguishable, and this is particularly the case where he expresses himself in the formulae " in Christ " and " in the Spirit," " Christ in us " and " the Spirit in us ".¹ Again and again we have the words " Spirit of God ", " Spirit of Christ ", " Spirit " and " Christ " used interchangeably(Rom.8:9-11). As " the Spirit " Christ is the possession of all true Christians, " living in " them(Gal.2:20); " formed in " them(Gal.4:19); transforming them " into the same image "(II Cor. 3:18); enlightening their understanding so that they can judge all things, even searching out " the deep things of God "(I Cor. 2:10); accomplishing their " liberty "(II Cor. 3:17). Thus the Apostle's experience of " the Spirit " is in no way distinguishable from his experience which he ever puts in the forefront, his experience of the Risen and Exalted Christ.

Now the important result of this identification of Christ and " the Spirit " is this, that the Christ of St. Paul becomes a universal presence, a Divine effluence, dwelling in men and in which men themselves can dwell continually. For to the Apostle " the Spirit " is not merely a sporadic afflatus, as it is more or less presented in the Old Testament, but an abiding possession, the very principle of the Christian consciousness and the binding nexus of those who are " in Christ ". In other words, the Apostle in identifying Christ and " the Spirit " conceives of Christ as God immanent in the believer. The Spirit is in effect God working in and through

1. J. Weiss. Das Urchristentum.p.373. cf. E.R.Scott. The Spirit in the New Testament.p.182. P. Gardner. The Religious Experience of St. Paul.pp.176&177.

men, God immanent in the soul. Though the Apostle also conceived of it as distinguishable from God, yet this distinction is not precisely defined nor is it constantly maintained. Christ as " the Spirit " is therefore the power, the presence, the " raying forth " of God Himself in the human soul. It is interesting to find that this is the view taken of St. Paul's conception of the Spirit by Baron von Hugel: " For here the Spirit, the Pneuma, is, strictly speaking, only one --- the Spirit of God, God Himself, in His action either outside or inside the human mind, Nous ". And he traces the source of St. Catherine's conception of the Spirit to that of the Apostle in these significant words: " But when speaking strictly, and and in her intense moods, she means by " spirito ", the Spirit, Christ, Love, God, a Power which, though in its nature profoundly distinct and different from her entire self-seeking self, can and does come to dwell within, and to supplant, this self ".¹ We would hesitate to apply to the Pauline conception of the Spirit so drastic a word as " supplant " for one of the functions of the Spirit is to reveal the deep things of God in and by the deep workings of man's own spirit, which occupies the same place in the believer as " the Spirit of God " occupies in God.² There is necessary a contact , a fusion, of the spirit of man and the Spirit of God whereby man attains all revelation and knowledge of " hidden mysteries ". The Spirit is the vehicle of the Pauline gnosis and the organ of the believer's higher " knowledge ". That higher " knowledge " is understood to

1. The Mystical Element of Religion. pp. 67&68. 2. I Cor.2:11-13
cf. II Cor.7:1, Rom.8:16.

proceed from the Spirit. But it is incontestable that the Apostle ascribes all his higher " knowledge ", his Christian wisdom which differs from the " wisdom of this world " to the Exalted Christ. For him the gnosis of God, the foundation of all his speculative thought, is knowledge of God " in the face of Jesus Christ ". Christ is to him, with regard to revelation of and intimacy with God, the same as " the Spirit ". And yet we cannot say that St. Paul ever conceives of " the Spirit " as a ' person '. For him, as for ancient thinkers generally, " the Spirit " ^{is} [^] an ethereal influence, a kind of essence, in some sense a substance, conceived as a fluid poured forth, and in which it is possible for the believer to live as it is possible for It to live in the believer. In presenting Christ as identical with this " Spirit " the Apostle may reveal a more or less naive realism which is not in line with his more purely metaphysical Christology, but this presentation arises out of his experience which is perhaps a more fundamental part of his religion than his subsequent metaphysical doctrine of Christ. Perhaps the Christ who was first presented to him in the conversion-experience as an ethereal heavenly Being came to be present ever after as an heavenly permeating Power, " the power of God " in whom it was easy to recognise the Divine Spirit, which to St. Paul is " in the last resort a supernatural essence ". In any case, in whatever terms the Apostle conceives of " the Spirit ", he has invariably in his mind that by which man is brought into contact, fellowship with

1. ^{5.} E. R. Scott. The Spirit in the New Testament. p.156.

the Divine, and in identifying Christ and " the Spirit " he thus presents a Christ who brings the Divine into the human soul and a Christ in whom it is possible to become one with the Divine.(I Cor.6:17).

We have given reasons then for maintaining that St. Paul conceives of Christ in these three inter-related modes; as a Divine Person, as a " Presence ", and as " the Spirit " of God. These three presentations of Christ are to be met with throughout the Epistles and the Apostle seems unconscious of any difficulty in combining them and in passing from one to the other. It may not be altogether easy for us with our modern categories of personality and our modern psychological principles regarding the potencies of the human spirit to grasp such a threefold consciousness of Christ, but we must remember that the categories of our modern thought are not those of St. Paul, who in common with his contemporaries could readily pass from the notion of personal psychic potencies to that of substance and from that again to the notion of immaterial impersonal, all-pervading force. So in the Pauline conception of Christ three modes of existence are postulated of Him and they must therefore be kept in mind when we seek to know what the Apostle means when he speaks of being " in Christ " and of Christ being " in me ". We consider that the first of these formulae conveys this meaning: that the believer is enveloped in his inmost life by the Exalted Living Christ, a Divine Person, Who is however spiritual and as spiritual is the life-element and sphere of the believer. The second formula " Christ in me " has this significance: that the believer experiences the abiding presence of Christ, the continual power and energy of God in Christ working in him and the continual action of Christ as the Spirit upon him, the result being " a new creation ". If the two

formulae be taken as one, if " in Christ " and " Christ in me " be taken to express the two essential aspects of the same relation, the content that we thus find in them is the essential content of the Pauline *κοινωνία* with Christ. We have seen however that for St. Paul Christ has all the attributes of Deity, that Christ has the value of God, We are therefore entitled to substitute " God " for " Christ " in our explication of the formulae expressive of this *κοινωνία* and when we make this substitution we have in this *κοινωνία* a relation involving a mysticism conforming to the definition which we laid down (cf.p.//.). Here is " the experimental perception of God's presence and being, and especially union with God, a union that is, not merely in conforming the will to God's Will, but, it may be said, ontological of the soul with God, spirit with Spirit, the perception and union being attained by the logic of the whole personality ". Here also in this relation denoted by the formulae there is " mystical experience " as we at the outset defined it: " direct intercourse with God plus dynamic integration of personality ". The relation expressed by St. Paul in the words " in Christ " and " Christ in me " is a mystical relation, a mystical union with Christ as God, or, as Prof. Weber has put it, the Apostle has " God-mysticism as Christ-mysticism "¹. It is this mystical union with Christ as God that is the central fact in St. Paul's experience as a Christian.

Now it will be seen at a glance that this union of the believer with Christ, as defined above, passes
1. op.cit.p.232.

far beyond a moral identification: it is not confined merely to the sphere of the human will. " The truth is " writes Prof. Morgan, "that in the piety of the Apostle and not less in his thought we meet with a strain which assumes a union, not indeed with God but with Christ, more intimate and close than can be described in personal and ethical terms ".¹ Nor is it possible, contends Morgan, to find in these formulae an explanation in figurative language of the inner nature of faith. " They point to a relation that reaches far beyond the faith-relation ". We accept the first of Prof. Morgan's views but we think there can be brought forward grounds for rejecting the second, which to our mind is based on an inadequate conception of the Pauline " faith ". It is with a view to indicating these grounds that we proceed to discuss in greater detail the meaning of the Pauline union with Christ.

The content of that experience, which St. Paul strives to express by means of the formulae " in Christ ", " Christ in me " and cognate expressions, is articulated in a series of metaphors which rest upon the facts of the experience of Christ. " The whole process of Christ " comes to be re-enacted and the experience of Christ in His earthly and exalted life is presented as the prototype of what the deepest and truest religious experience should be. The experience of Christ becomes a process to be somehow repeated in the believer, the great spiritual law under which all Christians are to live, something quite normal and necessary in the Christian individual. On three

salient features of the experience of Christ the Apostle continually lays emphasis, namely, the Sufferings and Death of Christ, the Burial of Christ, and the Resurrection of Christ. Thus he speaks of his Crucified Lord: " I am crucified with Christ " (Gal.2:20); " our old man is crucified with him " (Rom.6:6); " fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh "(Col. 1:24); " dead with Christ "(Rom. 6:8, Col.2:20); " baptized into his death "(Rom. 6:3); " planted together in the likeness of his death "(Rom.6:5); " always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus "(II Cor. 4:10). In such terms St. Paul expresses his vivid sense of fellowship with Christ in His sufferings and death. Similarly reference is made the Burial of Christ: " we were buried therefore with him through baptism into death "(Rom.6:4); and " buried with him in baptism "(Col.2:11). Very varied and numerous are the references to the Risen Christ of the Resurrection: the believer is " risen with him "(Col.2:12); is " in the likeness of his resurrection "(Rom.6:5); "lives with Christ " (Rom. 6:8); has " put off the old man "(Col.3:9); is circumcized " in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh "(Col. 2:11); has " the body of sin---destroyed "(Rom.6:6); is no more " in the flesh "(Rom.7:5,8:9); is " dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world"(Col.2:20); " puts on the new man "(Col.3:10) "is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him "(Col.3:10); "walks in newness of life "(Rom.6:4); is " in Christ Jesus---a new creature "(Gal.6:15); " the old things are passed away; behold, they are become new "(II Cor.5:17). From Galatians 4:19 " until Christ be formed in you " we learn that

1 III.

this new life of the Christian is a present gradual process. The above list of passages from the Epistles reveal the conviction that the experience of Christ in His sufferings, death, and state of exaltation is somehow transferred to and shared in by the Apostle in his own experience. This is the essential content of that union with Christ which the formulae " in Christ " and " Christ in me " denote. We shall be able to get further insight into the union with Christ if we can grasp how the Apostle conceived of this participation in the sufferings, death and rising again of our Lord.

In the first place, this close assimilation of the Apostle's experience to the experience of Christ Himself cannot be baldly defined as ' the imitation of Christ '. Undoubtedly there is this ' imitation ' present to the mind of St. Paul, the desire to identify himself in disposition and will with his Lord and thus to endure ~~steadfastly~~ ^{not} self-sacrifice, suffering and death itself. " Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ "(I Cor.11:1); " let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus "(Philip.2:5); " my ways in Christ Jesus "(I Cor. 4:17); such passages testify that St. Paul considered it essential to his belief in Christ to imitate Him in the spirit of His own words: " Whosoever will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me "(St. Mark.8:34). The Apostle as a man of intense moral fervour and of acute insight into moral principles, qualities due not only to his training as a Pharisee but also to his knowledge of the Jesus who suffered for righteousness' sake, undoubtedly must have

1.J. Weiss. Das Urchristentum.pp.403-405.cf Lightfoot.Galatians.
p.178.

felt himself constrained by the example of Christ as he clearly preached that example. But to describe his union with Christ solely in terms of the character and teaching and experience of Jesus seems to us erroneous. It is to describe the Apostle's relation to Christ merely in terms of its effects on him. Whereas these effects and results spring out of that very union with Christ, defined by St. Paul in terms the sufferings, death, and rising again of Christ, that union which is union with the Divine Spiritual Exalted Christ. It is this union that has still to be explained. It is with this Christ, the Christ who flashed upon him on the Damascus road, the Christ whom he knows no longer after the flesh, that St. Paul is united: it is this Christ, who lives in him and in whom he dies, is buried, is raised, and becomes a new creation. The Christianity of the Apostle is not merely a belief intent on reproducing the passion and resurrection of Christ in the field of moral and spiritual life: it is the indwelling of an ever-present heavenly being, a mysterious transforming personality, of whom it can be said: "yet not I, but Christ liveth in me". Thus though St. Paul does bear testimony to Jesus in the field of moral and spiritual teaching, we cannot conceive that he would have been satisfied with a Christianity that was simply the practice of the imitation of Jesus Christ. For him there are depths and currents of the Christian soul which are "hidden with Christ in God" (Col. 3:3), invisible and inexpressible as the Exalted Christ is but no less truly present to his consciousness so that he can always speak of himself as "always bearing about in the body the dying of Jesus that the life also of Jesus may

be manifested in our body "(II Cor.4:10). An examination of the context in which this verse occurs reveals that the reference is here made not merely to the earthly Jesus but to the Christ who is " the image of God ".

In an important analysis of the passage Romans 6:1-14, in which they discover what they term " The Mystical Union of the Christian with Christ ", Drs. Sanday and Headlam¹ give a psychological explanation of St. Paul's re-enacting of Christ's experience. They find the basis of the doctrine in the Apostle's own experience. " His conversion was---an intense personal apprehension of Christ as Master, Redeemer, and Lord.---But that apprehension was so persistent and absorbing---that by degrees it came to mean little less than an actual identification of will---Hence it was that there grew up within him a state of feeling which he struggles to express and succeeds in expressing through language which is practically the language of union--- He spoke of himself as one with Christ ". Then follows the significant statement: " And then his thoughts were so concentrated upon the culminating acts in the Life of Christ --- the acts which were in a special sense associated with man's redemption---His Death, Burial and Resurrection---that when he came to analyse his own feelings , and to dissect this idea of oneness, it was natural to him to see in it certain stages, corresponding to those great acts of Christ, to see in it something corresponding to death, something corresponding to burial(which was only the emphasizing of death), and something corresponding to resurrection ". This is on the surface a very simple solution

1. Romans.I.C.C.pp.156-166.

of St. Paul's union with Christ, which is here explained through the psychological fact of an identification of will, resulting in what Inge calls "a kind of dramatisation of the normal psychological experience". It seems to us that this psychological fact does not differ from ^{what} Weber calls "the presence of Christ to the consciousness" or from that which Sabatier means when he speaks of Christ as the vital principle of the Christian consciousness, as "a principle of immanent life" on the believer.¹ Inge is very emphatic on this presence of Christ to the consciousness of St. Paul. He holds that this is the Pauline form of the Logos-doctrine. Christ as Logos is present to the consciousness of the believer so that the believer lives under the law of suffering, death and resurrection, and in so doing the believer is "in Christ" and Christ "in him". The indwelling and re-enacting of this universal principle, the immanent law in the believer (*ἐννομος Χριστοῦ* I. Cor. 9:21) is "a transformation of our personality into a state in which God can think and will and act freely through us unimpeded by any wilfulness on our part".² We gather from these statements that Inge takes up this position: the Cross-mysticism of St. Paul has as its essential foundation "the presence of Christ" in the believer. The fact of redemption through suffering ending in triumph over sin and death is repeated as a process in the believer. We agree with Inge that this is the leading thought in St. Paul's theology and "the most verifiable fact of the Christian revelation". We believe that there is truth

1. The Apostle Paul. Eng. Trans. pp. 285&332.

2. Personal Idealism and Mysticism. P. 82.

in the contention that in the Pauline union with Christ there is present the conception of Christ not merely as " naked history " but as the revelation and actuality of a universal principle. But we have ever to retain before our minds the fact that this principle has been clothed in flesh and blood, and that even in His exalted state Christ remains a living person to the Apostle. He is ever the Christ " who loves me and gave himself for me ". There is always the call of the one Person Jesus Christ in all the facts of His experience to that other person, Paul. The Presence of the One as a living presence must first of all be the basis of this living under the law of Christ, this re-enacting of the whole process of Christ. Again and again we are driven back to the presence of the living Christ to the believer's consciousness. The process cannot be taken apart from the Person who initiated the process. The union of the believer and Christ is a union of two persons, the one human, the other Divine. Between the two could there be a union, the essential basis of which consists in an identification of will effected by the believer? Assuredly. But when we have said that we have not probed the depths of this problem of the Pauline union with Christ. For behind a union of will there must be a compelling reason, a constraining influence, which whether it arises in the sphere of emotional desire or springs from rational persuasion, is the subjective incitement to and medium for that identification.

What then is this " mediating term " in St. Paul's union with Christ? Is it the sacramental rite, the experience of Baptism? Drs. Sanday and Headlam appear to

favour this view, for they speak of " the second of his (Paul's) great pivot-doctrines, the Mystical Union of the Christian with Christ dating from his Baptism "¹. Further on however they appear to make a modification (to our mind an important modification) of this first view, for after referring to the "identification of will and purpose which is not wrongly described as union " they proceed thus: " Further, there is the distributing of this sense of union over the cardinal acts of Christ's Death, Burial, Resurrection. Then on the side of the man there is his formal ratification of the process by the undergoing of Baptism, the symbolism of which all converges to the same end; and there is his practical assumption of the duties and obligations to which baptism and the embracing of Christianity commit him--- the breaking with his tainted past, the entering upon a new and regenerate career for the future ". The first of these two statements distinctly dates the union with Christ from the believer's baptism. The second dates it before baptism, which is now the formal ratification of the union already^a experienced. It is the former of these two views that seems to bulk more largely in the minds of Drs. Sanday and Headlam. We believe that we are justified in saying that to them the Pauline union with Christ is inextricably bound up with the rite of Baptism since to their mind " the act of baptism was an act of incorporation into Christ --- the one decisive ideal act which he (Paul) regards as taking place in baptism: in this the more gradual life-long process is anticipated ". At any rate we have here a very close

1. Romans. I.C.C. note on Chap.6 verse 1.

connection postulated between the Apostle's doctrine of union with Christ and his doctrine of baptism. This is a connection that has been recently put in the forefront of their studies of St. Paul by scholars of the historical-religion school who find in the Epistles the influence of the Mystery-religions in which union with the deity is thought to be attained in and through a sacramental rite or cult-rite. We have already noticed this widespread belief in the many Mystery-cults of the Graeco-Roman world of the Apostle's day, the belief in re-birth and immortality through identification of the initiate with the cult-deity in the cult-rite. The Attis worshipper witnessed the sacred pine buried one day and dug up another, while the priest of these Mysteries assured him: "Be of good cheer, initiates, the god has been saved: thus for you also shall there be salvation from your troubles". In the rites of the Great Mother, Cybele, the initiate was symbolically buried in a trench or grave; the baptized of the taurobolium ^s arose from the blood-bath into a new regenerated life; while in the Mithraic initiation after baptism, the branding on the forehead and a sacred meal, Mithra or the presiding priest presented " *imaginem resurrectionis* ". ¹ These are some of the practices and ideas of the Mysteries which weigh so much with scholars of the school of comparative religion that they affirm the essential starting-point in the new life of the Christian to be his baptism, the fulfilled cult-sacramental cohesion with Christ. ² On this view baptism to St. Paul is an initiation act, a dying and rising again analogous to the dying and rising again of Christ. The act itself

1. S. Angus. The Mystery-Religions and Christianity. p.97. cf. J. Weiss. Das Urchristentum. P.403 note. 2. Bousset. Kurios Christos. p. 145.

is the efficient cause and necessary operative agency of union with Christ. With regard to the full life of the Christian, the life " in Christ " it is a " sacramentum efficax ".

While admitting however the prevalence of these cult-ideas throughout the world of St. Paul, and admitting that the Apostle has the idea of " Wiedergeburt ", rebirth into a new life, in the structure of his thought, we find in the Epistles themselves weighty reasons against acceptance of this view that the union with Christ is achieved through Baptism, that in Baptism it is an opus operatum. In the first place (1) the majority of statements regarding the cardinal acts and experiences of Christ are not connected with statements regarding Baptism.¹ Secondly, (2) in the important passage, Romans 6:1ff., the dying and rising again to new life cannot be once and for all achieved in the act of baptism, since it is to be sought after and attained not by a repetition of the rite but by activity of will on the part of the believer. This seems to us obvious from verse 11, which Sanday and Headlam paraphrase thus: " In like manner do you Christians regard yourselves as dead, inert and motionless as a corpse, in all that relates to sin, but instinct with life and responding in every nerve to those Divine claims and Divine influence under which you have been brought by your union with Christ ".² Very significant also is this translation of II Corinthians 4:11: " Every day of my life I am being given over to death for Jesus' sake, so that the life of Jesus may come out within my mortal flesh ".³ Thirdly (3) the Christian

1. cf. Gal. 2:19, 6:14; Rom. 7:4. 2. Romans. I. C. C. cf. II Cor. 4:16.
3. cf. Col. 3:10.

is able to participate of " the Spirit " quite apart from baptism. This fact has been strongly emphasised by J. Weiss: " It is indeed noteworthy, that he frequently speaks of the participation of the Spirit (Rom.5:5; Gal.4:6; II Cor.1:21ff. etc.) without mentioning at the same time baptism: the token of ' Zugehörigkeit ' to Christ is the Spirit (Rom.8:9); that is he stands essentially on the oldest, supra-natural enthusiastic stage ¹ ". Fourthly (4) St. Paul himself puts no excessive value upon Baptism as a rite essential to the Christian. He thanks God that he baptized none of the Corinthians but Crispus and Gaius (I Cor.1:14) and insists that God sent him " not to baptize, but to preach the gospel "(I Cor. 1:17). The Apostle himself had doubtless been aware of the new direction of his life before he had been baptised. It is likely from the evidence we have both in Acts and in the Epistles that with him baptism had not been the decisive experience but the Christophany of Damascus. Fifthly (5) the identification of the Christian's experience with Christ's experience of suffering, death, burial and resurrection is represented by St. Paul as a gradual process. There is no complete identification with Christ. Christ has to be " formed in you " he tells the Galatians, where the idea is that of taking the form of Christ as the embryo develops into the child. The same thought lies behind the words " put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ " which point to an unsacramental continuous relation with Christ. This aspect of the Apostle's union with Christ receives recognition from Drs. Sanday and Headlam, who on the basis of Romans 6:3; Gal.3:27 maintain that " Christ is 1. Das Urchristentum, pp.488&489.

put on first in baptism " but also allow that " we must continually renew that life with which we have been clothed " referring to Ephesians 4:24 and Colossians 3:12. With this statement agrees the view expressed by Dean Inge: " The transformation of our personality, whereby Christ becomes the form of our life, must surely always be a gradual process ".¹

There is then a large amount of support to be gained from the Epistles themselves for the rejection of the view that ritual participation in the cardinal acts of Christ's life is fundamental to and originative of the Pauline union with Christ. But there are other considerations which strengthen us in this rejection. For instance, while it may have been the case that in the Mystery-Religions the rite of baptism was synonymous^Y with " dying ", a conception due to the inability of the ancient mind to separate an inward process from an outward act,² yet St. Paul cannot be saddled with this inability, for he does not bind the working of God to material agencies. In Colossians 2:11 he speaks of those who are " circumcized with the circumcision made without hands " and in verse 12 immediately after a reference to the burial with Christ in baptism he speaks of those so buried as " raised with him through the faith in the operation of God ". Here the emphasis regarding the identification with Christ is laid not on the outward rite but on the inner state of faith. The emphasis on the inner

1. Personal Idealism and Mysticism.p.101. 2. cf. Reitzenstein, Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen. p. and Kennedy. St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions.pp.230-232.

state and the secondary importance given to the rite of baptism cannot be put aside but ever demands notice from those who see in St. Paul traces of the Hellenistic cults and their initiation-rites. Thus Dr. Morgan,¹ while he contends that for the Apostle " every other aspect of baptism is practically swallowed up in this, that it is a rite of regeneration ", a conception " borrowed from Oriental religion " yet confesses that the Apostle expressly warns (I Cor.10:1-5) his readers that participation in the sacraments does not by any means carry with it the certainty of salvation. The Roman church addressed in Romans 6 may indeed have looked upon baptism with the cults as effecting a divinising of the mortal nature, just as in the church of Corinth, under the influence of superstitious ideas regarding the efficacy of the rite, believers had practised vicarious baptism for the dead (I Cor. 15:29) but "it does not follow that the Apostle shared them--- it is difficult to resist the conclusion that baptism is no more than a graphic symbol of what for Paul is the vital thing, union with Christ in His death and resurrection ". This mystical union is in St. Paul's thought " essentially independent of any ritual act ". In other words, if derived from the Mystery-Religion conceptions, the idea of death and resurrection with Christ as an interpretation of baptism has become almost completely detached from its source. The new ground of the efficacy of baptism, as of the whole regenerated life lies elsewhere. " By faith Paul knows Jesus and the power of His resurrection and the fellowship of His sufferings, being conformed unto His death " (Philip.3:10).

1. op.cit.211.

In this last conclusion we have a writer, avowedly favourable to the view that St. Paul was largely influenced by the conceptions of Hellenistic religion, arriving at the conviction that while there is revealed in the Apostle's Christianity a mystical union, involving identification with the cardinal acts of Christ's life, that mystical union does not originate in or depend upon the experience of baptism. Another point of view is noticeable in the discussion of this question by J. Weiss in Das Urchristentum². He avers that the Mystery-conception is a presupposition to the whole structure ~~of the~~ of the doctrine of union with Christ. The union with Christ is fulfilled through the after-experience of Christ's experience: no ancient reader could understand the phrase of the Apostle in another sense. The mystical-sacramental interpretation of baptism is present in St. Paul--- a tendency jutting into Paul's piety, without at the same time being fundamental for it. " There is now no doubt that Paul thinks of the mystical union with Christ as one result of baptism ". But Weiss goes on to contend in qualification of this that the identification of the believer with Christ in and by baptism does not play the decisive role in the Apostle's redemption-mysticism and in the other province of his religious thought as the teaching on the Atonement. This, we hold, is perfectly obvious as it is significant. It seems that the full impact of Christ upon the soul of the believer, the acceptance by the believer of the *δικαιόσύνη* *θεοῦ* offered in Jesus Christ is not to be accounted for

by a ritual identification of the believer with the sufferings death and resurrection of Christ expressed in the external immersion and emergence. Behind the ritual act itself there must be something that gives to it its meaning, the real "mediating term". Baptism itself is not the "mediating term" in that experience which the Apostle expresses by the formulae "in Christ" and "Christ in me". Dieterich¹, who sees in the Pauline baptism the act which ensures regeneration argues that the Apostle must have assimilated the Hellenistic conception of lustral rites which effect a dying and rising again. The idea of such a complete and sudden change, he says, is foreign to Jewish thought, but native to the ancient mind which had no comprehension of an evolution or development. "The one man dies, the other is born--- it is set forth as a more or less magical act" that, Dieterich holds, is typical of the primitive non-Jewish world. But did St. Paul draw the baptismal symbolism in the first instance from the world of Graeco-Roman cults? May he not have derived his symbolism from Judaism? It is well-known that the custom and rite of baptism was practised among the Jews particularly in their process of making proselytes.² The Jews are not likely to have borrowed baptism from the Christians, though it is intelligible that first John the Baptist and then our Lord and His disciples should have adopted a custom already existing and have given it a new meaning. It is significant that a baptized person was proclaimed by the Rabbis to be as a little child just born, a statement which bears witness to the presence of the thought of regeneration in connection with the rite. The presence of this

1. Eine Mithras-Liturgie.p.157ff. 2. cf. Morgan. op.cit.p.208.

prefiguration of Christian baptism has perhaps influenced the mind of Clemen¹ when he notes regarding the "putting on" of Christ and the being "united with" Christ that while those phrases might be traced to the Mystery-belief in a physical union of the believer with the deity in the rite of baptism, yet there is no justification for the supposition that the idea affected Paul's view of baptism. "One argument against it" Clemen writes, "is the fact that these particular expositions belong to Paul exclusively and have no further influence". Clemen therefore maintains that the Pauline doctrine of Baptism was not borrowed from the Mystery-Religions nor did it convey the essential Mystery conception of a rite itself operative in attaining a union with the deity. Hence he affirms that baptism is very far from being the cause of the *εἶσα ἐν Χριστῷ* ---rather it can only be the occasion on which one confesses his faith, not a sacrament. To Clemen's mind it is simply false to say that baptism as well as the Lord's Supper already in the books of the New Testament underwent⁶ the fateful process of being transformed from symbolic² act to sacramentum efficax. In the light of the passages we have quoted from St. Paul's Epistles and in the light of the views of the above-mentioned scholars we are prepared to conclude regarding the union of the believer with Christ that neither Baptism itself nor the Lord's Supper itself are in the Apostle's doctrine decisive admissions to Christ. They do not bring about the fellowship of Christ in his sufferings, death

1. C.Clemen. Primitive Christianity and its Non-Jewish Sources. pp.216&232. 2. op.cit.p.266.

and resurrection. They are not the " mediating term " in the Pauline union with Christ. It may be accepted as true that the Christianity of the Apostle could not arise altogether free from relationship to the omnipresent Hellenistic cults with their conception of union with the deity as a transaction completed in the outward initiation-rite or sacrificial feast, and there is no doubt that many of his Gentile hearers would interpret the Christian sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper out of their acquaintance with these magical and mystical acts of pagan religion . But while St. Paul might consciously or unconsciously have these latter in his mind and might have in the words he employed given hints of their working, yet it cannot be said that he adopted the ideas expressed in the cult-rites and in the religious forms of the Mysteries. We must here remember the truth that as man's conception of the nature of deity grows more refined, so the conception of the nature of religious rite becomes more exalted and more spiritual. It is just here that the Apostle with his conception of Christ as a Divine Being present as " the Spirit " steps in and spoils the Egyptians by borrowing their jewels and placing them at the service of a higher God. Whether or not the form in which the Christian's relation to Christ belongs to the world-religions of St. Paul's age, it is certain that the spirit and meaning and efficacy belong to the Lord the Spirit. The Apostle, we hold, knows nothing of a magical sacra-

1. cf. A. Deissmann. St. Paul. A Study etc. pp.130-131.

-ment or of a union with Christ brought about primarily by an outward physical experience. God's seal upon the Christian is first and last the gift of " the Spirit ", which Spirit is not confined to material agencies.¹

1. cf. Glover. Paul of Tarsus.p.111.

VI. THE PAULINE GNOSIS.

In our last chapter we reached the conclusion that St. Paul's union with Christ as expressed in terms of participation in the sufferings, death and resurrection of Christ is not to be taken as originating in the ritual experience of these cardinal acts of His life. The terms used, for instance, in Romans 6:1-14 are but symbolism which describes what may be a very real experience, but a symbolism on the acting of which the reality of the experience does not essentially depend. No doubt the reality of union with Christ would be more vividly brought home to the believer through baptism and also through the participation in the Lord's Supper, than through the more common acts of the Christian life, for in the former he had the seal of his incorporation into Christ, but that incorporation would be carried on and intensified, perhaps, in experiences not connected with either of the two symbolical acts. The experience of union with Christ to the extent of which St. Paul testifies that he no longer lives but Christ lives in him cannot be affirmed of one act only: it is on the Apostle's own account a whole-life process. We have, therefore to consider other elements in the Christian experience of the Apostle, other factors that helped to mould the Christianity which he presents us in the Epistles. other conceptions which entered into his Christian doctrine as a whole. Among these undoubtedly is the conception of Gnosis " knowledge ". Can we say that the Pauline union of the believer with Christ, the relation denoted by " in Christ "

and " Christ in me ", is a matter of " knowledge "? Is the mediating term of this mystical union Gnosis? We have seen in our examination of the Apostle's terminology that he not infrequently employs the term *γνῶσις*, and that in his use of this word there are two strains of meaning (cf. pp 62 and 63.). He uses it of " a supernatural gift of the Spirit implying close fellowship with Christ, and an intellectual activity of of the Spirit-led mind into the deep things of God in Christ ". The Pauline Gnosis is thus supernatural in its origin, and as such it stamps the religion of St. Paul as marked by one of the main characteristics of the mystical type of religion. The author of " Christian Mysticism " has no doubt of the presence of this mystical strain in the Apostle's Christianity: " The belief in a suprarational illumination is most unequivocally professed by St. Paul who places it as the foundation on which his own Christianity rests "¹. A similar view is expressed by Pfleiderer in his Hibbert Lectures: " A Gnostic element lay from the very first in the Pauline Gospel of the revelation of God in Christ, a fruitful germ of theological gnosis or speculative theology--- the substance of Pauline theology --- it was the gnosis of the mystery of the Crucified Son of God, as revealed by God in the Apostle's mind "².

Now it is incontestable that there is in St. Paul a *γνῶσις* which exercises itself in interpreting the Old Testament revelation in the light of the Christ of the Apostle's

1. W.R.Inge, Expositor. 1896. pp. 114-123. 2. O. Pfleiderer. vide pp. 201-202.

experience, in the light of His life, death and resurrection. Wernle indeed emphasises this work of the Pauline "knowledge" as if this were its main province: "Now by means of the gnosis even the national Jewish portions can be read as Christian, and, generally speaking, Christianity can be discovered everywhere in the old book. It becomes the means, partly even before St. Paul, of the Christianisation of the Old Testament". Harnack recognizes "this necessary allegorical interpretation" while he draws attention to the fact that it "brought into the communities an intellectual philosophic element, a *γνῶσις* which while it "attached itself to the Old Testament" found its full activity in pursuit of "the ideal which the Hellenic religious spirit was at that time seeking, viz., a communion, which in virtue of a Divine revelation, is in possession of the highest knowledge, and therefore leads the highest life, a communion which does not communicate this knowledge by discourse, but by mysterious efficacious consecrations, and by revealed dogmas".

Here it will be noticed that Harnack connects this communion with *γνῶσις* and that he inclines to the view that it is not the gnosis that effects the communion but the communion that conveys the gnosis. Wernle again admits that there is this other and more philosophic gnosis in St. Paul and comes very much into line with Harnack as to its origin when he says: "That is Christian gnosis which interprets the world from the experience of faith or of Jesus. In fact, whether he formulates it with Christ or with God as the centre, the whole of his knowledge is one of the great effects which his experience on the road to Damascus produced in

1. op.cit.p.321ff. 2. Harnack. History of Dogma. Eng. Trans.p 222ff.

him ".¹ According to Wernle the Pauline gnosis is acquired subsequent to and is based upon a faith which involves a personal experience of Christ. There seems then to be ground for the view that with St. Paul gnosis is at least one stage in his Christian experience. Reitzenstein and Bousset give great prominence to the part played by gnosis in the Apostle's presentation of his religion. To the former St. Paul is to be ranked " not as the first but indeed as the greatest Gnostic "² while the latter opines: " this great Gnostic movement--- it is the form which Paul has given to Christianity--- so has Gnosis chosen the great Apostle as its teacher ".³ Leaving meanwhile such views open to question we may regard St. Paul as a Gnostic in the high sense that he does formulate a Christian gnosis, a Christian " profounder knowledge of Divine things ".⁴ The part played by this gnosis in his Christian experience and speculative thought we propose to estimate in the light of two considerations: (1) what claim he makes to it and (2) what claim he makes for it.

Firstly then, what claim does St. Paul make to a " profounder knowledge ", a gnosis of Divine things? If we bear in mind that to him Jesus Christ stood as a Divine Being we shall find not a few clear statements in the Epistles of the author's claim to a higher knowledge, a knowledge that is higher both in respect of its object and also in respect of the medium

1. op. cit. p. 323. 2. Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen, p. 3. Kurios Christos. p. 233. 4. Clement of Alexandria. Strom. IV. 1. 2.

through Whom it comes. Undoubtedly the Apostle asserts the reality of knowledge transmitted to him from the transcendent God and transmitted in and through the Divine Jesus Christ. Thus he speaks of his own knowledge: " when it pleased God--- to reveal his Son in me "(Gal.1:15); " God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ "(II Cor.4:6); " though I be rude in speech yet not in knowledge "(II Cor.11:6); " I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ my Lord "(Philip.3:8); " that I may know him and the power of his resurrection "(Philip.3:10); and " all knowledge ", " we know in part ", " I know in part "(I Cor.13:2,9,12). In these passages there is the allusion to the writer's assurance of a profound insight into Divine matters(cf.II Cor.2:14). But in the main it is in the Apostle's counsels to his hearers regarding their relation to Christ that the strongest assertions of the claim to this higher knowledge is to be found. Of first importance ranks the description of the " foolish Galatians " " after that ye have known God or rather are known of God "(Gal. 4:9). There follow such statements as " But if any man love God, the same is known of him "(I Cor.8:3); " neither can he(the natural man) know them, because they are spiritually discerned " (I Cor. 2:14); " that in everything ye are enriched in all utterance and in all knowledge "(I Cor.1:5); " we know that we have all knowledge "(I Cor. 8:1); " howbeit there is not in every man that knowledge "(I Cor.8:7); " the ministers of God--- by knowledge " (II Cor.6:6); " as ye abound in everything, in faith,

and utterance, and knowledge "(II Cor. 8:7); " every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God "(I Cor. 10:3); " filled with all knowledge "(Rom.15:14); " in whom(Christ) are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge "(Col.2:3); " the excellency of the knowledge of Christ(Jesus, my Lord "(Philip.3:8); " Till we all come in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God "(Ephes.4:13); " that ye may be filled with the knowledge of his will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding "(Col.1:9); " increasing in the knowledge of God "(Col.1:10); " to the acknowledgement of the mystery of God and of the Father, and of Christ "(Col.2:2); "That the communication of ~~thy~~ faith may become effectual by the acknowledging of every good thing which is in you in Christ Jesus "(Philemon 6). As proof-passages for his contention that St. Paul presents his Christianity in the form of a *gnosis* Reitzenstein lays stress upon the following: " For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit "(I Cor.12:8); " except I shall speak to you either by revelation or by knowledge, or by prophesying or by doctrine "(I Cor.14:6); , whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away "(I Cor.13:8); and " whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son "(Rom.8:29). From the above passages as a whole we gather that within the Christian communities the Apostle undoubtedly did not hesitate to claim for himself and to commend to his

1. Lightfoot. " the mystery of God, even Christ ".

his hearers a more profound knowledge of God, a peculiar insight into the Divine mystery now made manifest in Christ Jesus. It is quite clear that not all within the Christian churches had the same knowledge. The First Epistle to the Corinthians¹ makes it plain that there were degrees of this knowledge and that while there were "babes " who attained only elementary truths there were also the "mature " who reached and enjoyed the higher wisdom. But " knowledge " in the special sense of knowledge of Divine things, a knowledge available in Christ, was certainly claimed by the Christians taught of St. Paul. Nor is this fact surprising. If this " knowledge " is present in the Apostle's thought, there were reasons for its presence from the prevailing religious tendencies of the world in which he moved. Dr. Angus has described these tendencies in these words: " Every religion, in order to survive and compete successfully, was obliged to assume in some degree the character of a Gnosis, a necessity from which even Christianity did not escape, and of which we find traces in the Epistles of the Imprisonment and in the Fourth Gospel "². Everywhere then the Apostle would meet with the claim to a wisdom more than the wisdom of this world, a " knowledge ", a gnosis. We must avoid, however, attributing this claim on the part of St. Paul to a policy of expediency. The source of his gnosis and the sufficient reason for his preaching of it is more likely to be found in his own religious experience. It is from the impact of the one

1. I Cor. 2-3:2. 2. The Mystery Religions and Christianity. p.57.

great fact of Christ upon the mind of the Apostle, a mind sensitive to the life-forces abroad in the contemporary world, that we have to derive that higher wisdom which is an immediate and speculative " knowledge " of God and the Divine mysteries in and through Christ. Thus it comes, in the Apostle's mind, to be a reflection upon the believer in Christ that ' he has not the knowledge of God '¹. The inference surely is that St. Paul claimed for himself and for the " spiritual " in his churches a certain gnosis of God and Christ. Neither he nor they, contrasted with the pagan world which set much ^{value} by gnosis, were " rude in knowledge "².

What claim or claims does St. Paul make for this gnosis? The first two chapters of the Epistle to the Colossians leave no doubt whatever that the Pauline " knowledge " is connected with the apprehension of eternal mysteries. The conjunction of " the epignosis of the mystery of God even Christ in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and gnosis "³ with " the mystery which hath been hid " ⁴ and " Christ, for in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily " ⁵ shows perhaps better than any other passage in the Epistles that the higher knowledge is concerned with the Divine mysteries. This is evident also from the second chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians where St. Paul discusses the " wisdom ", " the mysterious wisdom of God ", " the hidden wisdom which God ordained before the world unto our glory " or in other words the " knowledge " of " the deep things of God " which the Spirit

1. I Cor. 15:34. 2. II Cor. 11:6. 3. Col. 2:2-3. 4. Col. 1:26-

of God enables the spiritual man to attain.¹ The Apostle himself in virtue of possessing this higher knowledge is able to present Christ as the pre-existent, " the first-born of all creation ", " the fulness of God ", the triumphant ruler of all angelic powers, the cosmic principle of all things,³ the supreme Judge to whom all things will in the future be subdued.⁴ Here is a knowledge that is far-reaching on its speculative side, a knowledge that for its content ranges the unseen and the supernatural. Now it is quite true that this is not always the " knowledge " which St. Paul has in mind and in which he desires and prays to see his converts to abound. Sometimes he identifies the Christian " knowledge " with a practical knowledge of God's will⁵ so that it becomes a practical moral insight, and sometimes the speculative interest is subordinated to the ethical.⁶ But the fact remains that in his speculative Christology and in his teaching regarding the inner foundations of the Christian life he claims a " knowledge " entirely different from the wisdom of the world, a knowledge superior to pagan unbelieving thought and philosophy, a knowledge inaccessible to the natural man, a knowledge opening up those eternal invisible things which eye hath not seen nor heard. These eternal " deep things of God " are only revealed by " the Spirit of God ". It is here in this last phrase, " the Spirit of God " , that we touch upon the second claim which the Apostle makes for his gnosis. It is the work of the Spirit. It is therefore in its origin supernatural:

1. I Cor. 2:7&10. 2. Col.2:15. 3. Col.1:17. 4. I Cor.15:28.
5. Col.1:9&10. 6. I Cor.8:1.

" For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of gnosis by the same Spirit ".¹ The Pauline gnosis is thus a supernatural charisma, the result of possessing the Divine Pneuma. By means of this supernatural charisma the Christian is endued with a new faculty of vision, whereby he may comprehend divine mysteries. He is in possession of " a higher organ of knowledge" in so far as he possesses the Spirit.² Now we have seen that St. Paul conceives of Christ as spirit indeed as " the Spirit ", the power of God which acts upon and within the spiritual man to transform his inner life and to permeate his whole personality. It will therefore not be surprising if we find that this " knowledge " gifted in the Spirit is knowledge centred in and derived from Christ, the Christ Risen and Exalted, Who is yet a living Presence. This is exactly what we do find. While the Christian " knowledge " is not merely co-extensive with Christian truth, nor with the Christian interpretation of prophetic Scripture, while it is not merely a supplementing of these nor an ecstatic speaking in tongues regarding divine mysteries, but at different times all of these to St. Paul, it is always derived from experience of the Person Jesus Christ. The Apostle's experience it is which always conducts us back to the great reality on which his gnosis is anchored--- the Person of Jesus Christ.

Now it is just this experience of the Person of Jesus Christ which we must ever be careful to recognise as the distinguishing mark of the Pauline gnosis. Certainly it is the

1. I Cor. 12:8. 2. cf. E.F. Scott. The Spirit in the New Testament. pp. 175 & 176.

the feature in the Apostle's " knowledge " which distinguishes that " knowledge " from the Hellenistic gnosis. Dr. Morgan has pointed out that in the religious philosophy of the Hermetic Literature for instance the conception of *νοῦς* or Mind plays substantially the same part as the Risen Christ in the gnosis of St. Paul but that the former in comparison with the latter is but " a pale and empty abstraction ". Whereas the Christ of St. Paul is no such abstraction. The Apostle's gnosis is thus distinguished from its Hellenistic counterpart by its reality, by " its hold on reality " ¹. The reality for St. Paul was Christ at once the historical and the transcendent Christ and his hold on reality was his fellowship, intimate union with, this Christ. His gnosis does not originate this union: it is one of the results of this union and brings to expression all that the union involves. There is striking corroboration of this view of the Pauline gnosis in the terms employed to express the Christian's ' illumination '. If we bear in mind that the words *φῶς*, *φωτισμός* and *φωτίζεω* in the Epistles convey always the meaning of heavenly spiritual truth shining forth from God, in other words a knowledge derived from God, we find that in such statements as " the Father who has qualified us to share the lot of the saints in the Light ", " now in the Lord you are light ", " the light of the glorious gospel of Christ " and " the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ " ², the Apostle presents his Lord as the Light illuminating men in " knowledge ", as the " unsearchable riches " ³ illuminating men regarding " the mystery " ⁴.

1. op. cit. p. 174. 2. Col. 1:12, Eph. 5:8, II Cor. 4:4 & 6.

4. Eph. 3:8-9.

hid from eternity ". An illumination, a gnosis, is here postulated, which has its source in the supernatural, the supernatural being here the Person Jesus Christ and the condition essential to such an illumination being an intimate union with Christ. It is " Christ in you the hope of glory ", the fact of Christ's presence in the Colossian believers, which St. Paul puts in the forefront of his teaching. The very fact that when he speaks of gnosis as a gift to be coveted by the Christian he has in view at times a practical knowledge of God's will,² and that he places faith and love even higher than gnosis as distinctive marks of the Christian,³ goes to prove that the Christian's relation to his Lord is not primarily a " knowledge ", but that the " knowledge " is one of the fruits of that Spirit, which is at once a presence and a power indwelling in the believer. That presence and power of Christ is not initiated by gnosis but the gnosis is originated and developed by the Christ already an indwelling presence and " the Spirit ". " The Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God " --- we take that to mean that the human spirit in union with the Spirit, which is Christ in us, reveals the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him. The union of the believer and " the Spirit " i.e. the union formulated by St. Paul in the words " Christ in me " and " in Christ " is essentially first and necessary in all " knowledge ". This essential basis for the Pauline gnosis has been indicated by Wernle in his reference to what he terms " the Christianization of the Spirit ". He holds

1. Col.1:27. 2. Col.1:10. 3. Col.1:4-11. I Cor.12:31,13:13.

that by St. Paul the conception of the Spirit as an impersonal force of nature is transformed into the historical influence of the person of Jesus. In this way, Wernle contends, the chasm between the supernatural and the natural is bridged. The whole body of Christian knowledge, all those thoughts the possession of which constitute the pre-eminence of Christians, all the mysterious, at times ecstatic, background of Christian personality inaccessible to all natural wisdom, have their root and ground in the believer's acceptance of the person of Jesus Christ. " This is the point from which the representation of the Pauline gnosis will have to start " ¹. Undoubtedly. But we would avoid the somewhat vague phrase " the believer's acceptance of the person of Jesus Christ " and submit rather that St. Paul's gnosis is

1. op.cit.p.259. While this view is in line with our own, we cannot submit that there is ground for Wernle's further content-
 -ion that St. Paul's gnosis is " the subordination of mysticism ". (cf.p.263). If, as Wernle admits, the Apostle's gnosis of the deep things of God has as its starting-point his own experience of Christ and interprets the world from that experience, and if the Christ of St. Paul is the Risen Exalted Christ as " the Spirit " the organ of all further revelation of God, it is difficult to see how the mystical and supra-rational element can be excluded from such " knowledge " derived from the Spirit. After all, this " knowledge " is a higher knowledge, as Wernle admits: " Christian knowledge is contrasted with all non-Christian knowledge as something wonderful and higher ". It is higher because it arises out of contact with a higher Divine Person, the Exalted and Ever-present Christ.

derived from the Christ Who, as " the Spirit " liveth in him. Here it is the ground and content of the Apostle's gnosis is to be found. It is " knowledge " arising out of the Apostle's own experience, which is essentially an experience of intimate contact with the Divine Being, Jesus Christ, Who is present as pneuma, as " the Spirit ". This conception of the Spirit is, as we saw above (p. 53.) to be traced to the Apostle's inheritance of Hebrew religious ideas, " the Spirit of God " in the Old Testament prophets being distinctly conceived as in some sense a reality, but always as that which brought into closer acquaintance with God. It was a supernatural essence, the breath, the voice, the power of Jehovah, which sustained and guided and kept a man's whole emotional nature in touch with God. The Psalmist, for instance, conjoins God's Spirit with His " presence",¹ or " face ". In possession of this Spirit, the Hebrew had the knowledge of God, which was to him the chief object of life. It was a possession which to the Hebrew mind was equivalent to the experience of God Himself as an abiding presence in the heart of man.² We cannot but think, therefore, that St. Paul, an Hebrew of the Hebrews, conceived of his " knowledge " on the lines of his traditional belief in the pneumatic presence of God, Christ the Exalted Divine Person was present to him as " the Spirit " hence he had " knowledge ". It is not merely a " knowledge " derived from and based upon the historic Jesus, it is not originated by³ " the acceptance of that story ", it is a knowledge

1. Psalms. 73&139. 2. cf. E.F.Scott. op. cit. p.43.
3. J.G.Machen. The Origin of Paul's Religion. p.265.

revealed in and through communion with the living Divine Being, Christ Jesus, who is known "not after the flesh". We think it a contention well-founded that St. Paul in all his presentation of a higher organ of knowledge never deviated altogether from the Hebrew Old Testament idea of acquaintance with God through the Spirit of God.

But on the other hand this primitive and traditional strain in the Apostle has to be considered in the light of another factor in his experience. As his missionary work advanced there must have been felt by him in some measure the impact of the Hellenistic idea of Gnosis. This conception of a higher knowledge of Divine things was widespread in the world of St. Paul. The age was one in which men politically, socially, and individually had fallen away from the old gods and were thirsting for salvation from fate and ill-fortune, from the weariness of life. Thus had arisen the various forms of syncretistic religion and religious philosophy in which religion was really identified with Gnosis. Central to this Gnostic type of religion was the idea that the realization of immortality, salvation, deity was to be laid hold upon in and through a union the essential nature of which was a higher knowledge, a special revelation, a Gnosis. With this esoteric religion and its mystical union the Apostle must have been confronted again and again. Was he influenced by the prevailing emphasis upon gnosis? Here we have to give deference to the labours of such scholars as Dieterich, Heitmüller, Bousset, Reitzenstein and Wendland, the last of whom voices the well-considered verdict: "The very thought that Oriental gnosis

has affected the peculiar religion of Paul, and that this factor helps to elucidate the undeniable distance between the Pauline Christianity and the Gospel of Jesus is, in my opinion, indisputable".¹ Even Kennedy, who is not so favourable to the view that Hellenistic ideas influenced the Apostle to any large extent, yet asserts of this Hellenistic gnosis: "in employing the term and the idea it embodies he presupposed his hearers' acquaintance with these through the medium of the Mystery-Religions, and at least to some extent adopted the current usage."² If this be true, it seems probable that St. Paul found it easy to link together his Hebraic conception of "knowledge" with the Hellenistic idea of Gnosis. Why was it easy? Because the Hellenistic religion in general and Christianity as experienced by the Apostle were both salvation-religions: both sought to attain unto a *σωτηρία*. Both conceived of the human reason becoming the organ of the Divine Reason in a gnosis of the Divine mysteries. Both had the conception of a Divine Spirit indwelling within and possessing the human spirit. But while the Hellenistic religion conceived of gnosis as of the very essence of this union with the Divine the Apostle traces all his "knowledge" directly to the Christ Who is "the Spirit". Here it is that St. Paul in common with Hebraic religion occupies a peculiar position, in that the relation with the Divine Being comes first. It is the relation that makes possible and supplies the "knowledge". It is only

1. Die Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur. Vol. I. Part. 2. p. 178.
 2. St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions. pp. 171 & 172.

when " the Lord saith " and " the spirit of the Lord " comes upon a man that the Old Testament prophet proceeds to reveal the hidden ways of God's sovereignty. It is also only when St. Paul has the inward experience of Christ's presence that the higher knowledge, the richer penetration into divine things, becomes available. Thus the Apostle prays for his Ephesian church that " Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith; that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth and length, and depth, and height; and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge, that ye may be filled with all the fulness of God "¹. Here the indwelling of Christ is the necessary basis of " knowledge ". Similarly in addressing the Corinthian church thanks are returned to God " for the grace of God which is given you in Jesus Christ; that in everything ye are enriched in him, in all utterance and in all knowledge "².

The Pauline gnosis is thus always the gnosis of a Person: it is " knowledge " of the living centre of the Apostle's religion, the Christ, present with the Father from the beginning, who lived and died and rose again, and who yet liveth and maketh alive.³ Always this Person remains and reveals " the face of Jesus Christ " and always there is presupposed a relation with this Person which is not in the first instance gnosis or dependent on gnosis. That relation, the union with

1. Ephesians 3:17-19. 2. I Cor. 1:5. 3. II Cor. 13:4.

Christ, is not the product of a mere intellectual formulation of God's purpose in Christ neither is it the fruit of ecstatic vision. It is a relation which involves a man's whole being in that of One other. Of such a relation to a living centre, Hellenistic religion and the type of gnosis it professed have no indication. Even in the more refined religious thought of Hellenistic religion as witnessed to in the Hermetic Literature though there is an intimate relation between the human soul and the Divine Nous resulting in gnosis, the Divine Nous entering the pious soul and leading it into the Light of Divine Knowledge, yet this Divine Nous was never incarnated as a Person upon earth and the indwelling of this Nous is in no way comparable to the Christ who lived on earth and died and rose again. The Christianity of St. Paul, however, traces all its content back to the living centre, Christ. This, as Harnack has pointed out is the predominant feature of the Christianity of the early Apostolic Church: "Theology attempted to describe in very uncertain and feeble outline what the mind and heart had grasped. Yet it testifies of a new life which, like all higher life was kindled by a Person, and could only be maintained by connection with that Person. 'I can do all things through Christ who strengtheneth me.' I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.' These convictions are not dogmas and have no history, and they can only be propagated in the manner described by Paul, Gal.1:15, 16".¹ That is to say, they can be propagated only by the revelation of the Son in the believer, and by conferring not with flesh and blood but with the Person of Jesus Christ who stands

1. History of Dogma. Eng. Trans. Vol.I.p.133.

behind and in the Gospel mastering men's hearts, constraining them to yield themselves to him as his own, and in whom they found their God. As has been tersely said of the Apostle: " He needed a positive centre "¹. That positive centre he found in the Person, the Risen and Exalted Christ. His gnosis is essentially a gnosis, a " knowledge " of the Crucified Son of God. All things he counts as a loss compared to " the supreme value of knowing Christ Jesus my Lord "².

While the Pauline gnosis then cannot be taken to convey what the term undoubtedly conveyed to Hellenistic mystical religion, the essence and reality of union with deity, there is yet one aspect of the Apostle's " knowledge " which has a counterpart in Hellenistic thought of his time. It is quite true that the Epistles show no trace of a gnosis which after the conception of the Hellenistic religionists is a ' vision ' of God, itself resulting in salvation and identification with God. St. Paul has no such idea of a gnosis that makes a man divine. He never speaks of identification with Christ. There are, as Bousset³ has pointed out, no words of his which can be construed: " I am the Christ ". Nor does he ever put stress upon gnosis as the one condition of salvation or as the means of salvation. He knows of something greater than " knowledge "⁴ and while he may in a few instance refer his " knowledge " to times of sudden insight and ecstasy, he is careful not to exaggerate the importance of such experiences. He is concerned not primarily with being " out of the body " but with the life which he lives " in the flesh " and for that

1. T.R.Glover. Paul of Tarsus. p.104. 2. Philipp.3:8.
3. Kurios Christos.p.156. 4. I Cor. 13.

life he announces a foundation of faith and love.¹ Still it is true also that he reveals a gnosis, an activity of the Spirit-led mind into the deep things of God, which is very similar to the mystic speculation of the Hellenistic gnosis. In common with the world of Hellenistic religion he is constrained to enter the sphere of philosophical speculation and in the presentation of the true gnosis to present his Christianity as a system of religious and metaphysical thought. This is an element in the composition of his religion which he undoubtedly derived from the Gnostic atmosphere of his time. The opposition of the Hellenistic sects with their boast of a superior "knowledge", a gnosis, no doubt led the Apostle to present the Christian "higher knowledge" which consists in part at least of a speculative Christology. It could hardly have been otherwise. For St. Paul did not cease to be a thinker when he became a Christian and the antagonistic forces that clashed with his religion as he travelled the Hellenist world were bound to strike flashes of new thought and insight from out the rock of his faith. But here it is important to recognize that the Apostle's "knowledge" as a living and expanding thing, lives and expands because it works back upon its origin, upon Christ Himself and the Apostle's experience of Christ. This explains the more speculative element in St. Paul's gnosis his conception of Christ as the pre-existent, the Creator, the sustaining principle of the universe, as the fulness of the Godhead, the supreme ruler of all angels and principalities,

1. Col. 1:4&11.

He in whom all things are yet to be summed up. There we have the interaction of his " knowledge " and his experience of Christ. His " knowledge " grows as his experience ripens. This we believe to be the process in the Apostle's life referred to in the passage, Philippians 3:8-10, where the deeply personal note is struck and the Apostle expresses his life's main purpose to be this, to gain Christ and be found in him, not having his own righteousness but that which is through faith in Christ, that he may know Him and the power of His resurrection. Here it cannot be held that the knowledge of Christ is of the essence of St. Paul's faith in the sense that it ^{is} _^ originative of that faith. Certainly on the side of speculative Christology it is operative in that faith, but it is always working upon that which had first been revealed in the Apostle, the Risen Christ Who as a Divine Being and " the Spirit " had come into personal contact with him. St. Paul's gnosis is the knowledge of this Person, a knowledge that is furthermore available through that Person as " the Spirit ". It is only on the basis of fellowship with this Spirit, the living and abiding Presence of Christ, that man is able to search and to " know " the mysteries of God. ¹ Hence the Apostle's boast of his determination " not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified " as also his desire that his Colossian hearers may " be filled with the knowledge of his will in all spiritual wisdom and insight ". ² Christ's will, Christ's crucifixion, the glory of

1. I Cor. 2. 2. Col. 1:9.

God in the face of Jesus Christ, the consummation of all things in Christ, these form the subject and content of the Apostle's gnosis. They are the ferment in all his intellectual and emotional life and he presents them ^{to} his churches in different lights and from various angles, with a wisdom which he affirms higher than the wisdom of this world. But he does this only in virtue of the relation expressed in the formulae " Christ in me " and " in Christ ". His gnosis is rooted in the transcendent Divine Being who is yet present in him as the Lord, " the Spirit ". It is this intimate relation which gifts the " knowledge " to him. It is his close fellowship with the Exalted Christ which provides him with the higher organ of knowledge. It is not the higher knowledge, the gnosis, that creates and maintains the intimate relationship. It cannot be said that the Gnostic element is the main element in St. Paul's relationship with Christ or that gnosis is the essential basis of that mystical fellowship denoted by the words " in Christ " and " Christ in me ". The Apostle, while utilising the Hellenistic technical term " gnosis " at times as a scaffolding whereon to rear his own doctrine of " knowledge ", yet erects the main body of his Christianity upon an experience which is prior to and formative of all " higher knowledge ".

We have not found then the mediating term, the nexus of the Pauline union with Christ, either in the sphere of moral will and feeling alone, or in the experience of baptism, or in the possession of a higher knowledge, a gnosis. The Apostle's Christianity is not to be explained as a personality dominated by the conscious imitation of Jesus or by the participation in any ritual act or by a purely suprarational special knowledge. How then is it to be explained? What is it that is fundamental to St. Paul's adherence to, union with, Christ? In a striking passage of the final appendix to the latest(1920) edition of " Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen " Reitzenstein contrasts the Christ of St. Paul with the " heavenly man " as presented in the Iranian religious writings. He contends that the Apostle cannot be said to have borrowed the conception of this " Anthropos ". For what distinguishes the Christ of the Epistles from the latter is the threefold fact which is central in St. Paul's religious experience, namely, that Christ has endured guiltless the death of a criminal, that this death was necessary to free man from his sin, and Christ has been raised from the dead and has been seen of the Apostle. " That is for him the peculiar content of his *κῆρυγμα* . The fervour of religious experience which unites him with his Lord, can be derived only from this, but not from the dogma of the Anthropos. His religion remains, in spite of borrowing, new and his own " ¹. Now if there is, as Reitzenstein admits, this

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peculiar non-derived personal religion in St. Paul, if there is in his Christianity a personal element which is new and his own, what is it? Under what conception and in what term or terms does it reveal itself? We hold that there can be no doubt on this point. A study of such passages in the Epistles as Galatians 3, Romans 3 and 4 and 10, Ephesians 3:12-17, and Philippians 3:8ff., reveals to us that which is central in the Apostle's Christian thought and experience--- " faith in Christ Jesus " or " the righteousness which is through faith in Christ " (Philippians 3:9). For St. Paul ' faith ' is the universal coefficient of all spiritual blessing. All true Christian life proceeds " from faith to faith " (Rom.1:17); by ' faith ' men are " baptised into Christ ", " put on Christ " and are " made the righteousness of God in Him " (II Cor.5:21). In the succinct statement of Sabatier " by faith man attains his identification with Christ ". It seems that in the content of this Pauline ' faith ' there is likely to be found the nexus of the Apostle's union with Christ. There may be that in the Apostle's ' faith ' which supplies the " mediating term ".

Now we have seen that ' faith ' for St. Paul is made up of many strands. Undoubtedly two experiences influenced him in the filling in of the content of his ' faith ', the one that experience on the Damascus road when the truth of Jesus as the Exalted Son of God bound him in allegiance to a Divine Person, the other his intimate acquaintance with the religion of the Old Testament. Quite clearly there are in the Pauline ' faith ' 1. op. cit.p.305.

the elements of personal enthusiastic adhesion, and of trust and faithfulness in the Hebrew sense. But there is something more. There is an entirely novel element in St. Paul's ' faith. Mere knowledge of, trust in, adherence to the object of faith does not sum up that ' faith '. With St. Paul to have faith is to " re-enact the whole process of Christ ". The life of faith is such, is so closely related to its object, Christ, that it can express itself only in terms of Christ's own experience, in terms of being crucified, dead, buried, raised. This is the new and unique element in the Pauline ' faith '. " The new and significant peculiarity is the mystical union with Christ, the self-identification with Christ in a fellowship of life and death ".¹ " Through faith " writes Sabatier,² " we so thoroughly participate with Jesus and become so entirely one with Him, that His death becomes our death, and His resurrection our own resurrection ". These opinions clearly affirm that ' faith ' in the Pauline sense involves a reciprocal indwelling, of Christ in the believer and of the believer in Christ. In other words ' faith ' is essentially bound up with the mystical union.³ Dr. Morgan assents to the presence of this mystical union in St. Paul's Christianity but contends that " it is not possible to find in these formulas merely an explanation in figurative language of the inner nature of faith. They point to a relation that reaches far beyond the faith-relation ". Quite true, if ' faith ' be taken in the Hebrew sense only and interpreted as trust in or reliance upon God. But if ' faith ' be

1. W.R.Inge. Faith and its Psychology.p.14. 2. op.cit.305.
3. op.cit.p.117.

defined, as we have found that it ought to be defined in the case of St. Paul, as " the activity of the whole personality ", then surely the Apostle's *πίστις*, that which is the asseveration of his whole being, thought and will and feeling, does include this experience of his which he expresses by the formulae " in Christ " and " Christ in me ". Why should the avowed mystical union be divorced from faith? Why should we not speak of St. Paul's " faith-mysticism "? It is surprising to find J. Weiss giving lengthy notice to the Pauline mystical union and then going on to contend that the Apostle qualifies the statement of that union in the first half of Galatians 2:20 by a second statement regarding the life of faith lived " in the flesh ". Why, if the former is descriptive of " an inner reality " for St. Paul, should he require to qualify it? Why belittle the power of the inner realities of religious life in the interests of faith? If, as Weiss contends, the relation that above all explains the intensity of the Apostle's religion is the slave-relation to his Lord, and if, as Weiss admits, the Apostle had times of extraordinary enthusiastic emotion when he thought of himself as identified with his Lord to the extent of re-enacting his Lord's experience, surely the faith which lays hold upon that experience is present and active in the intimate relationship announced in the first half of Galatians 2:20. After all, it is not argued that the union which is described " Yet not I, but Christ liveth in me " and " walk ye in him " is anything but part and parcel of the life lived in the flesh and therefore inspired and dominated by " faith in the Son of God ". Too much stress cannot be laid on the fact

1. Das Urchristentum. chap.XV.par.5. 2. Col.2:6.

that faith, the living faith of St. Paul, is not merely the conviction of the truth in Christ but is also a life lived in conformity with the dictates of that truth. It is an activity of the whole personality re-acting to states of emotion and sensation and intellection, and as such it must have played its part in the Pauline experience and doctrines admitted to be mystical. If then, we are permitted to speak of St. Paul's "Christ-mysticism" as one of the foci of his religion,¹ then we cannot divorce the statement of that Christ-mysticism and the experience underlying the statement from the Apostle's Christianity as a whole. The statement is not to be dismissed as merely an "oratorical excess" or "oratorical hyperbole". It conveys something that is essentially related to and bound up with the Pauline "faith".

We hold therefore that it is justifiable to speak of St. Paul's "faith-mysticism". "His mysticism" writes Angus,² "is 'faith-mysticism' or 'Christ-mysticism'"; a view which finds favour with Pfeleiderer:³ "the mystical element in Paulinism depends immediately and exclusively upon Paul's notion of faith".⁴ Even Morgan seems to depart from his position referred to above (p/5/) when he writes in his discussion of the significance of the rite of baptism: "That baptism is concerned with the mystical union only in symbolic fashion we have already seen and that the real ground of the latter lies nowhere else than in faith".⁵ Similarly Kennedy re-iterates that the

1. J. Weiss. Das Urchristentum. p.341. 2. op.cit.p.295. 3. The Pauline Theology. pp.32&256. 4. op.cit. pp.225&226. 5. St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions. pp.223, 228&289.

Pauline union with Christ, " the ineffable relationship " is not established in any magical way but is " the Divine answer to faith " --- " faith in the Son of God who loved me and gave himself for me ". It is from this passage and other passages as Philipians 3:8ff. that Kennedy can come to no other conclusion than this: " Faith, in Paul's far-reaching sense of personal surrender of the life, is the proper basis of this unspeakably intimate relation of the soul to Christ "¹. If then we are to arrive at any clear conception of what this mystical union with Christ meant to St. Paul we must come to it by way of his faith in Christ. That is, we must grasp first of all and as far as we can the centre and the peculiar outlook of the faith-experience. We must ask what is the reality in the faith-consciousness. We have of course already in a measure done so when we shifted the emphasis in our investigation from the preposition " in " to the object of " believing in ", namely Christ, and when we found that St. Paul conceives of Christ as a Divine Person retaining to some extent the features of Jesus, as a Presence and as " the Spirit ". Now, however, it is incumbent upon us to go deeper into the consciousness of the Apostle and to grasp how these conceptions entered as forces into and filled his consciousness so that he must needs express himself as being " in Christ " and as living " by faith in the Son of God ". It is here, by a study of that which was real to the faith-consciousness of St. Paul, that we shall find evidence

1. cf. Sanday and Headlam. Romans. I.C.C. p.163. " It was really faith, the living apprehension of Christ, which lies at the bottom of all the language of identification and union ".

ample or otherwise, of that which has been termed " the fundamentally mystical quality " of that consciousness. Predominant in that consciousness is undoubtedly the fact of the living Christ. That which dominates the inner life of the soul is his conviction of the Jesus Christ Who lived and died and being raised from the dead " dieth no more " but " liveth ". Central to all his thought is the living Lord, the exalted Christ. Even " the Spirit " he merges in this living Christ. But this fact so predominant in the Apostle's consciousness unfolds itself under two particular aspects; the one the personal relationship of the bondman to his lord, the *δοῦλος* - *κράτος* attitude, and the other the righteousness and grace of God in Christ, what Wernle calls " consciousness of a divine power unto salvation in the mighty drama of Jesus ". From these two aspects it is possible to grasp what is contained in the Apostle's faith-consciousness.

With regard to the first, the consciousness of close constrained service-relation to the living Christ as Lord, we have clear insight at least into its beginning. It dates from the experience on the road to Damascus. Whatever view is taken of that experience, we hold that it is decisively right to say with Weinel: " Christ has taken up His abode in his heart--- a new and infinite sense of infinite strength floods his being. Since that day, a being from another world lives in his heart ". It is from this same hour that St. Paul begins to feel himself in the power of Christ, as a seryant, nay, a slave,

1. E. Underhill. The Mystic Way. p.193. 2. Beginnings of Christianity. Vol.I.p.268. 3. St. Paul. The Man and his Work. pp.83-

" in der Gewalt des Herrn " ¹ there resulting from the concept-
 -ion of this Lord as " the Spirit " the sense of an abiding
 within, as it were, an element,--- that of the exalted Christ
 and His Divine Glory. So does St. Paul join himself to the
 Lord and become one with Him in spirit, ² This relation to
 Christ, the consciousness of it, is the very starting-point
 of the Apostle's new life in Christ as it is the starting-
 -point of his dogmatic thinking. It is in virtue of this
 consciousness of being in the service and power of the Lord
 that he is able from the hour of his conversion to use such
 expressions as " Christ in me " and " in Christ ". These ex-
 -press the consciousness of the Apostle that he is in contact
 fellowship, with the personal Lord, the Divine Exalted Christ.
 In so far as this Lord is not merely the earthly Jesus but
 an exalted heavenly Being, not merely the historical but the
 super-historical, not merely the present but the future Lord,
 this relationship is a mystical relationship and the conscious-
 -ness of it reveals the mystic consciousness. It is not here
 contended that this mystic consciousness sprang fully developed
 into St. Paul's life and thought at the Damascus conversion-
 -experience. Undoubtedly this mystic consciousness led later
 to that deeper fuller consciousness of identification with
 Christ in His sufferings, death and resurrection. But what is
 contended is that this mystic consciousness was present in the
 Apostle from the first step of his Christian career. It is not
 therefore something that arises out of or is added to the

1. Weber, op. cit. p. 219. 2. I Cor. 6:17.

faith-consciousness. The consciousness of the deep personal slave-relation to the Lord is not the product of faith, it is the faith, in the sense that organic to the faith-experience is this mystic consciousness, which is born with the impression of the living Lord, the revelation of God's Son " in " St. Paul, (Gal.1:16). It is because the Apostle is ever conscious of this revelation " in " himself that his " faith " has to do, as all true Christian faith has to do, only with the conviction that Jesus Christ is the living Lord.¹

We turn now to that other aspect which the fact of the living Christ presents in the faith-consciousness of St. Paul--- " a divine power unto salvation in the mighty drama of Jesus ". For the Apostle Christ is the complete revelation of " the fulness of God ", the revelation of God's righteousness and grace.³ Christ is the agent and mediator of salvation. In Christ the revelation of God's righteousness, the Divine Eternal purpose of salvation for man, the salvation itself, steps into the world, into history. In Christ is the salvation accomplished, in Christ it is here. " God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself " --- it is this that is ever one sure ground of the Apostle's passionate faith, the consciousness of Christ as the bearer of salvation, the conviction that Christ " died for all "⁵. This Christ is He who " born of a woman, born under the law " effected the redemption of man, He " who loved me and gave himself for me "⁷. Here it is emphasized that Christ

1. Harnack. History of Dogma. Vol. I. pp. 85&86, note. 2. Eph. 3:19.
3. Rom. 3:24-26. 4. II Cor. 5:19. 5. II Cor. 5:15. 6. Gal. 4:4.
7. Gal. 2:20.

is the bearer of salvation in virtue of His historical experience. Salvation is rooted in the facts of Christ's earthly life. The consciousness of an historical basis cannot be disrupted from the Apostle's conviction of salvation in Christ. There can be no doubt that this consciousness of the historical Christ speaks at St. Paul's lips when he describes " the love of God which is in Christ Jesus, our Lord "¹, and " the exceeding riches of his grace in his kindness toward us in Christ Jesus "², and " God's gift is life eternal in Christ Jesus "³, and " all the fulness of God dwelleth in him bodily "⁴. Here the words " in Christ Jesus ", " in him " refer to the historical reality of the living Mediator of salvation. " In his flesh "⁵ Christ made known the righteousness of God. The love of God, God Himself has come nigh to St. Paul through the historical revelation " in Christ Jesus " and the Apostle's religion as God-consciousness and faith-consciousness ever retains the consciousness of the saving work, " the mighty drama ", of Jesus. This aspect of the Apostle's relationship with Christ may appear to differ somewhat from the former aspect in which there predominates the consciousness of personal adhesion to the living Lord. The difference, however, is only apparent since Christ, the Mediator of salvation, is to St. Paul always the living and present Lord. Here we come to what is very important, namely, that these two elements in the faith-consciousness of the Apostle, the sense of personal identification with the exalted Lord and the conviction of Christ as the bearer of the revelation of God's righteousness and grace, cannot be taken separately. They flow into each other

1.Rom.8:39. 2.Eph.2:7. 3.I Thess.5:18. 4.Col.2:9. 5.Eph.3:15.

and both must be taken as present and active in the Apostle's experience and in his presentation of his Christ-faith. There is that in his Christian experience which holds the two indissolubly together.

We have already touched on the fact that St. Paul conceives of Christ as a ' presence ' ¹. It is remarkable how many of our modern Pauline scholars recognise this conception of Christ as ' presence ' to be everywhere in the Apostle's thought and yet fail to work out all that this conception means to his Christian life and teaching. For, as it seems to us, it is just " the fact of the pervasive presence of Christ at every moment of life " ² that holds together the two elements in St. Paul's faith-consciousness, the two elements which are so apt to be emphasized separately. Behind both, the common background of both, is the vivid awareness of the presence of Christ. Assuredly behind the formulae expressive of the Pauline union with Christ lies " the certainty of His presence ". It is easy to see how the first element in the faith-consciousness of St. Paul, the consciousness of being bound to, under the power of, the Lord as a slave is with his lord, always brings with it the consciousness of that Lord as a ' presence '. This, Bousset argues, is one of the ideas for which the Apostle was indebted to the cults of the Hellenistic world, for in these cults the cult-Lord was conceived to be ' present ' at the cult-feasts and cult-worship. But we need not go outside the inherited religious tradition possessed by St. Paul in order to find reasons for this consciousness of his Lord as a ' presence '. The idea was already

1. cf. supra. pp 93ff. 2. R.H. Strachan. The Individuality of St. Paul. pp. 83 & 84.

to hand in the Old Testament idea of the Lord God acting upon men through His Spirit. Passages from the Psalms such as " Nevertheless I am continually with thee " and " Whither shall I go from thy spirit? Or whither shall I flee from thy presence? " ¹ would readily spring up in the Apostle's mind, all the more readily, perhaps , after the Damascus experience. St. Paul as a Jew taught according to the perfect manner of the law of the fathers would always have the consciousness of God's Presence overshadowing him and this consciousness he would undoubtedly transfer to the living Lord Jesus so that he came to conceive of himself as speaking and doing all things in the presence of his Lord. But with St. Paul this ' presence ' is not something vague and nebulous. Though he may at times speak of it as " the Spirit " working within him, yet it was not merely something " subtly interfused " and indeterminate as the creations of ecstatic emotion are apt to be. With the Apostle the ' presence ' of Christ is inseparable from the work of Christ as the revealer of God's righteous purpose and the mediator of God's salvation for man. The Christ Who is ever present and standing by St. Paul is in Himself the the revelation which was manifested in the flesh, the Christ Who lived and died, was crucified of men and was raised again from the dead, the Christ Who not only was a historical reality but even now in His transcendent exalted life is the Reality.

The ' presence ' of Christ, therefore, always holds for

1. Psalm 73:23 and Psalm 139:7.

St. Paul this reality, the fact of Jesus Christ in His life and death and resurrection as the revealed grace of God to the end that men may find in Him power unto salvation. It is because this reality is so present to the Apostle's mind that he can express his own Christian experience only as living, dying, being crucified and being raised, that is, in terms of the historical revelation in Jesus Christ. Only in virtue of his consciousness of the historical revelation can he say that " Christ liveth in me " as in virtue of his Lord-consciousness he can declare that he is so enslaved to his Lord that he lives " in Christ ". The two formulae express two elements in his Christ-consciousness and they are held together, merging indeed into one another, by his consciousness of Christ as a ' presence '. In other words, in the Christian consciousness of St. Paul there is a synthesis, a bringing together of the Lord-consciousness and the consciousness of the salvation historically mediated by Jesus Christ, and this synthesis takes place within his vivid experience of Christ as a ' presence '. Present always to the Apostle is the exalted Christ, the Lord, Who has entered into his life as an all-pervading " foreign power " constraining him to the closest service and fellowship: but present also, and simultaneously, is the Jesus Christ, the Divine Being Who was manifested in the flesh, Who on earth revealed God's saving purpose and to Whose saving work there must be the response of re-enacting the whole process of His life and death and resurrection, the response of ' faith '. The Pauline consciousness

of Christ, the consciousness of Christ as a ' presence ' always holds within itself the recognition of the historical revelation of God in Jesus Christ Who is the object of ' faith '. So much so, that the fellowship of St. Paul with Christ cannot be conceived as ever going beyond the boundaries of, as ever transcending altogether, the faith-relation. So that the Apostle's mystical union with Christ, the living presence of Christ in him and his living in the presence of Christ, preserves at its heart the historical reality of the exalted Christ Who is appropriated by faith. The experience of Christ as ' presence ' includes and holds together as inextricably essential to the experience itself, the consciousness of Christ as the Lord and the consciousness of Christ as the historical mediator of salvation. The latter, a more purely faith-consciousness, is ever an element in St. Paul's consciousness of Christ. For the Apostle there is no true experience of Christ without it--- the faith-relation. There is no Christ-mysticism, no Christ-union, without faith in God Who " was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself ". It is immaterial, as we have seen, whether we use the words ' presence of God ' or ' presence of Christ ' since for St. Paul Christ has all the attributes of God. The one thing to be marked as important above all else is that everywhere in the Apostle's consciousness of the Divine Presence the faith-relation to Christ is prominent and essential. St. Paul may be " in Christ " and may speak of " Christ in me ", he may thus express his mystical union with his Lord, but the mystical relationship has always organic to itself the recognition of the

historical fact of Christ as presented to and appropriated by faith. Whatever the Pauline experience of Christ reveals of the mystical temperament and however the doctrinal presentation of that experience breathes the spirit of the mystic, there cannot be separated from the Apostle's Christianity this essential element, the recognition of the historical saving work of Christ. The Christ-presence, then, of which St. Paul is ever conscious, is not the mere product of subjective states in the Apostle. It is not spun out of that esotericism which is to be found in the dreamy emotional type of mysticism. Undoubtedly he holds firmly to the claim that Christ was 'revealed in him' but essential to that which had been so revealed is that which had been revealed without him in the cardinal act¹ of the historical Jesus. As Dr. Campbell has pointed out, the substance of his salvation is undoubtedly in the life of Christ within him, but its ground is the Christ without him. Thus it is true that the Christ who is a 'presence' to St. Paul bears the marks of Christ's personality, those marks of flesh and blood, which Christianity, perhaps just as much as it kept itself in line with the Apostle, has held to be essential to its faith. They are essential to the faith of St. Paul. But with him we find that faith is that larger 'faith' which is mystically conscious of the 'presence' of Christ; and this consciousness of the 'presence', constraining the Apostle to enthusiastic devotion to his Lord, involves also the re-enacting of the whole process of the historical Christ. This larger 'faith' is a faith-mysticism, the experience of

1. Paul the Mystic. p. 137.

a union with Christ through the activity of the whole personal-ity, reason and will and feeling, re-acting to the touch of Christ which is a ' presence ' and working out in a living ' faith ' the process which is inseparable from that ' presence '. As Weber has pointed out in his article " The Formula ' in Christo Jesu ' and the Pauline Mysticism ", the Apostle's con-¹sciousness of the ' presence ' of Christ is that reality in his experience which " includes and penetrates the whole ". This consciousness is a mystical consciousness, since it lays hold upon the transcendent Being, the Living and Exalted Christ, but since it takes into itself the historical facts which are undoubtedly one basis of the Apostle's faith, the ineffable re-lationship indicated by " in Christ " and " Christ in me " is one that ^{can} only be described as a faith-mysticism. The fact of the Risen and Living Christ is there. The fact of the saving work of Jesus Christ is there. St. Paul is conscious of both facts when in the mysticism of his faith he is conscious of " the pervasive presence of Christ ". Baron von Hugel in the closing chapter of his " Mystical Element in Religion " has² put forward as the two essential elements in the fruitful religious life, first, " the vivid continuous sense that God--- touches our souls " and, second, " the conviction of " the continuous sense of the ever necessary, ever fruitful, ever bliss-producing Cross of Christ--- the great law and fact that only through self-renunciation and suffering can the soul win its true self, its abiding joy in union with the Source of Life,

1. Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift. Vol. LXXI. No. 5. p. 239.
2. pp. 394 & 395.

with God "; and contends that these two supremely virile truths and experiences, " these two eyes of religion and twin pulse-beats of its very heart " have been realised by the greatest of the Mystics. Were they ever more fully realised than in St. Paul with his Christ-union, his Cross-mysticism, his ' faith ' in the Son of God?

We find, then, the mediating term in the Pauline union with Christ to be the Apostle's consciousness of Christ as a ' presence '. In that ' presence ' the Apostle is conscious of living and moving from day to day. We find furthermore that for St. Paul this ' presence ' is not devoid of particularity. It is particularised with " the face of Jesus Christ ", with the cardinal acts of the saving work of Jesus Christ which must ever constitute the reality of Christ for faith. There can be no real consciousness of the presence of Christ without the appropriation of the facts of Christ, His life, death, resurrection, and exaltation in glory. The faith which appropriates these is essentially active in the consciousness which is consciousness of Christ as a ' presence '. The Pauline union has faith as an active principle within it. The Christ-mysticism of St. Paul is a faith-mysticism. Are we not, in admitting the importance of this faith for the Pauline Christ-relationship, defeating all argument for the presence of mysticism in St. Paul's Christianity? What ground is there for insisting on a mystical relation between Christ and the believer when there is admittedly a faith-relation? This is the critical attitude which the late Dr. Denney took up in his volume " The

1. cf. I Cor. 1:5&9; II Cor. 5:19; Col. 2:9ff.

Christian Doctrine of Reconciliation " ¹. To Dr. Denney it is obvious that St. Paul puts in the forefront of his Christianity a union with Christ, and he admits that the New Testament is " full of the idea that the Christian is united to Christ, that in a real sense he is one with his Lord ". But, argues Dr. Denney, the Christian is one with Christ " simply and solely through faith ", and this union through faith has nothing mystical about it. Here are two significant passages: " Our dying with Him, even if we call it as Paul does, out crucifixion with Him, is a present and an ethical experience; it is a dying to sin, a being or rather becoming insensible to its appeals and its power; our living with Him is a being alive to God, a new sensibility to His claim upon our life. In other words, our union with Christ is not metaphysical or mystical, but moral--- it is something achieved by faith in the very measure in which faith makes Christ's attitude to sin and to God its own "; and further, " All His thoughts and feelings in relation to sin as disclosed in His passion--- in their measure become ours through faith. This itself, and nothing else, is our union with Christ ". The faith-union with Christ is thus equivalent to the adopting and practising of Christ's attitude to sin, a course of action that is inspired by " the love of Christ ". To all this, so far as it goes, we would assent as being truly part and parcel of the faith of St. Paul. But Dr. Denney has other passages the meaning of which is not so obvious. We may well ask the

1. pp.302ff.

full significance of this: " Faith in Christ who died for us is a power so strong that through it we are, so to speak, lost in Him ". And what is implied when Galatians 2:20 is dismissed as follows: " he was throwing out words at one of these permanently inexpressible things, and it is beside the mark to reduce them to cold prose and read them as if they had been dictated in a psychologist's laboratory "? Dr. Denney, we gather, is averse to finding any mystical union in the Apostle's experience of Christ and this aversion seems to arise out of the assumption that such a mystical union with Christ is too readily taken to be something higher than faith in " the objective atonement ". But if by this latter phrase is meant the historical revelation of God in Christ's saving work, then it is just this which we have maintained to be inextricably bound up with the Apostle's consciousness of Christ. It seems to us that Dr. Denney in his onslaught upon a mystical union which threatens to be absorption into Christ involving the loss of the believer's personality, a mysticism of which we find no trace in St. Paul, is not careful to keep in mind the conception of Christ which the Apostle retains before him, the Christ Who is the object of his faith. It is this Christ, not the inexpressible passion of St. Paul, which makes the faith-union a mystical union. The fellowship of St. Paul with his Lord is fellowship with a supernatural Being who yet retains within Himself those works of Christ upon which the Christian must rest for his salvation and in accordance with which he must conceive his own religious and moral activities. " The

love of Christ " is there; that love of Christ, which was historically demonstrated and which must ever be appropriated by faith, is there as Dr. Denney rightly insists. It is an essential factor in faith-relation, which being a relation to the Living Exalted Christ, is nevertheless a mystical relation. We cannot confine the Pauline fellowship with Christ to merely the moral sphere, to the believer's Christ-attitude towards sin, for the faith necessary to this attitude is faith in a Risen, Divine, Being conceived of as " the Son of God ", as " the Spirit " and as ' a Presence '. In this Exalted Christ, in union with Him, St. Paul is assured that he has come into contact with " ultimate Reality ", as Dr. Denney himself admits elsewhere when he writes: " Here (on the road to Damascus), he felt, he touched the last reality in the Universe, the ens realissimum, the ultimate truth, by which and by relation to which all things must be defined and understood ". Undoubtedly the purely faith-relation is there in St. Paul but clearly also it is bound up with the mystical relation. His Christianity is both revelation-religion and mysticism: his is a faith which holds out a hand to both. His mysticism is the mysticism of a ' faith ' which lives in the presence of God , because God has come near through the historical revelation of Himself " in Christ Jesus " and even now comes near through the indwelling Christ, the " Christ in me ". It is this consciousness of the presence of Christ, the becoming present and the being present of the ultimate reality

1. Jesus and the Gospel.p.37.

which is present to the consciousness as a reality bearing all the characteristics necessary to a faith in the historical Jesus Christ, that mediates the mystical life of union. It is this consciousness of the presence of Christ that makes the mystical life to be progressively accomplished in every believer: " Know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you unless indeed ye be reprobates? " ¹ It is the open secret behind the great Christian mystery, " Christ in you, the hope of glory " ². This sacred presence to the consciousness of the believer is that which is the spring of every motion of his higher life. It constitutes the mediating term in that larger ' faith ' which is the Pauline union with Christ.

The fact of this consciousness of the presence of Christ as inextricably bound up with the Apostle's faith and the importance of it as giving his religion the characteristics of both revelation-religion and mysticism becomes patent from an examination of that faith as it works out in one striking development. It is a faith which supplies the characteristic content of that experience of Christ which the Apostle expresses through the formulae " in Christ " and " Christ in me ". For in the main that experience has its centre in the crucifixion, death, burial and resurrection ⁿ of Jesus Christ. Whether or not this absorption in the cardinal events of Christ's career is the outcome of St. Paul's intense

1. II Cor. 13:5. 2. Col. 1:27.

sense of his slave-relation to his Lord(as J. Weiss contends), there is no doubt that the Christianity of St. Paul is a Cross-Christianity. The suffering, death and rising again of the Crucified are all appropriated and applied by the Apostle to himself. " I am crucified with Christ " ¹ is his cry, as he also declares it his great aim to preach " Christ crucified " ² nay more, to himself " fill up ³ that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh ". This identification of the believer's experience with the experience undergone by Christ is in the forefront of St. Paul's presentation of the rite of baptism. In baptism he would have his fellow-Christians conceive of their peculiar experience in terms of that of the the Crucified and Risen Lord. Romans 6 gives the chart of the transition from the old life to the new in terms of Christ's own experience. The Christians are to reckon themselves " to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God in Christ Jesus our Lord " ⁴. So it would seem that the presence of Christ to the believer's consciousness involves a like suffering, death and rising again, as the old man gives place to the new. Here is the assimilation of the believer's personality to that of Christ, the ' putting on ' of the Lord Jesus Christ. It does not appear to us to matter much whether we decide with Drs. Sanday and Headlam that St. Paul in analysing his own experience interpreted that experience in terms of the significant events of Christ's experience and applied these events to his own inner and outward life, or adopt the view that these

1. Gal. 2:20. 2. I Cor.1:23. 3. Col.1:24. 4. Rom.6:11.

fateful experiences on the part of Christ so burnt themselves in upon the Apostle's mind that henceforth that which Christ had revealed in Himself must also be revealed in the true Christian. The main point is to our mind this, that the presence of Christ is so all-pervading in the consciousness of the Apostle that there results a dramatic but sustained sublimisation of his own experience. So much is this so, that the Cross becomes the active principle of his life, and the norm of the Christian life. For St. Paul there is but one way of expressing this, Christ, the Crucified, is in him and he is in Christ, the Crucified. Hence the Christianity of the Apostle is not belief in the Cross of Jesus Christ: it is the living union, identification, with the Crucified. The Christianity of St. Paul is a superb Cross-mysticism. In this Pauline mysticism, it will be at once conceded, the historical work of Jesus Christ bulks most largely, the cardinal acts in that saving work are prominent above all else, but the faith which retains these historical facts retains them as the re-iterated facts of the life that ^{is} new and raised and deathless "in Christ". The presence of Christ in the believer is a presence which calls for, nay, exists in, these re-iterated experiences of crucifixion, death and rising again "in the inward man" and by reason of this the consciousness of the presence, which mediates a mystical relation, keeps this mysticism within the boundaries of faith. It is always faith which fills in the lineaments of the Christ Who is present to St.

Paul and with Whom he is related in a mystical union. As Weber insists when he contends for the right to use the term " faith-mysticism " with regard to the Apostle's religion " the Christ, who in His peculiar essence is Spirit, becomes presence, and His becoming present involves that His historical experience, His dying and rising-again, obtains for His own a peculiar actual presence---in the appropriation by faith ". In other words the mysticism of the Pauline consciousness of the presence of Christ is a Faith-mysticism and thereby a Cross-mysticism. Thus it is that the Apostle's consciousness of the presence of Christ is not to be put on the level of that " inner light " of which many a mystic has boasted without advancing any convincing proof of its source and foundation. For the Pauline consciousness of the presence is not such an esoteric gnosis or a flight of the soul away entirely from human individuality and environment. It is opulent with conviction of the historical saving work of Christ, with all the spiritual content for which Christ stands, and it is opulent also with that rich response to the fact of Christ which is the response of the whole personality of the Christian. For St. Paul the essential and central fact of the Christian's life is this, that the reality of the sovereign Will of God, the Will to redeem and save mankind, has come near to man through the historical facts and experiences of the Christ Whom now he knows as the Living Exalted Lord. Undoubtedly the consciousness

of this Exalted Lord is experience of a transcendent super-natural Being, but this consciousness is awakened and comes to realise its content only in touch with the facts which are laid hold upon by faith, faith that is the response of the individual to the facts. The personal consciousness, the self-consciousness, the personal will, are all active in accepting and appropriating that which the Gospel concerning Jesus Christ announces. To this activity on the part of the believer the mysticism of St. Paul, as Cross-mysticism, bears ample testimony. It also bears testimony to the fact that this union with Christ is a union of two persons and the identification of two personalities, the one Personality revealed in the Cross and the other revealed in the acceptance and re-enactment of all that the Cross signifies as the objective work of salvation. This union of persons and identification of personalities is present to St. Paul in virtue of his consciousness of the presence of Christ. It is this consciousness of the presence, that, including within itself the Lord-consciousness and the consciousness of the saving work of Jesus Christ, is really the binding nexus in the larger 'faith' of the Apostle, that larger 'faith' which is the mystical union with Christ. In that larger 'faith' the Apostle's whole personality, thought and will and feeling, is active to transpose his consciousness of the presence of Christ his Lord into that state of being which is his suffering, dying and rising again, the mystical life which finds expression in the words "in Christ" and "Christ in me".

It may be argued regarding the Apostle's consciousness of the presence of Christ, the synthesising element in his Christ-consciousness, that it must be differentiated from the ' presence ' itself as the reality in his experience. But we do not believe it is necessary to make a differentiation which he doubtless never made himself. With him it is not the consciousness of the presence of Christ that is the operative reality. The operative reality is the presence of Christ itself. Undoubtedly the consciousness of Christ's presence is essentially a part of St. Paul's experience but this consciousness becomes and ranks with him experience of the ' presence '. Between the consciousness of the presence of Christ and the actual presence of Christ there would be no fine-drawn psychological distinctions. For it is quite obvious that in all his statements, so frequent, emphasising the indwelling of Christ and the indwelling in Christ, there is a lively feeling of reality, a conviction of the reality of the Christ. There is the living ' presence ' to which his consciousness is alive, the transcendent spiritual Christ with Whom he is heart and soul united, but the objective reality of this ' presence ' is not a mere figment of his consciousness. It creates the consciousness of the ' presence '. We cannot hold that St. Paul is conscious of any differentiation between the objective reality which created and the creation which is the consciousness of the ' presence '. Both go to the making of that reality in his experience of Christ, the great reality which he has expressed " in Christ " and " Christ in me ", the

consciousness of the presence of Christ mediating that intimate relationship with the Christ, the mediator of man's salvation and the living Lord. The consciousness of the presence of Christ is thus for the Apostle essentially experience of the reality, the living and present Christ. Is such an experience possible as expressed in the Pauline terms of union with a transcendent being the exalted Christ? Can there be such a union of persons and such an interpenetration of personalities on the part of the believer and the Divine? We have here again to recognise that St. Paul is not working with categories of personality that are ours to-day. He could readily pass from interpreting personality in terms of substance to its interpretation in terms of spirit. But even with our modern categories of personality we know now that human personality is by no means evolved in impenetrable solitude. We are persons not in virtue of the power to isolate the self but in virtue of the power to transcend the self and link it to others. St Paul may have no such theory of personality, though it does receive Christian expression in his doctrine of the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ; with him the " experimentally verified coalescence " of personality between the living exalted Christ and himself arises out of the instinct of the believer, which everywhere is distinctive of the Christian attitude to Christ, as it is revealed in the New Testament, that the object of faith must be now and here. The genesis of that instinct is no doubt to be found in the Apostle's decisive experience on the road to Damascus. It was then that he acquired the consciousness of the presence of Christ, the exalted Lord: ~~it~~¹ was then that he

1. H.R.Mackintosh. The Person of Jesus Christ.p.364.

had experience of the Person Whose presence was ever to abide in him and Whose personality was to interpenetrate with his own. The reality of this Christ-presence and the intimate relationship with Christ which was mediated by the consciousness of the Christ-presence was, we believe, never questioned by St. Paul. Rather he is wholly engrossed to the end of his days in preaching a gospel which unfolds the implications of that reality, the implications for himself, for the Church, for the present world and for the world to come. Hence we have presented us in the Epistles that Christian life which is the re-enactment of the Cross in the individual, that Christian Church which is the very Body of Christ, that world outlook which sees in Christ the sustaining creative principle of things that are and the final Judge of things that are to be. So wonderful a gospel, eloquent of the Apostle's powers of passion and thought concerning the cardinal acts of Christ's life, and eloquent also of his contact with the religious ideas of his age! Yet the reality, the unquestionable reality at the root of all, is this, the Presence of Christ "in" the Apostle. "In Christ" and "Christ in me", these witness to the reality of which St. Paul is ever conscious and convinced, the sacred Presence of Christ. These witness to the fact that St. Paul's religion is 'the experimental perception of Christ's Presence and Being, and especially union with Christ, a union of the soul with Christ, spirit with Spirit'.

VIII. THE MYSTICAL BODY OF CHRIST.

" In Paul's mind the first question is whether a man is a member of the church --- fundamentally the church is to him the new humanity itself, which is uplifted, by its unity with the crucified and risen, out of the whole remaining mass of mankind ". In these two statements Wrede ¹ draws attention to one aspect of the Christ-mysticism of the Apostle which must receive careful notice in any estimate of the Pauline doctrine of mystical union with Christ. Hitherto we have dealt with this mystical union as if it were primarily a relation of the individual to Christ. Now we would take note of the fact that St. Paul in the development of his Christian doctrine does indicate that the relation comes to be realized in that corporate body which is the Church. As the peculiar correlate to Christ there comes to be emphasized not the individual believer but the Church as a body, as " His Body ". If this is the vital emphasis in the Apostle's doctrine then there arise questions as to the sphere in which his union with Christ comes to be realized. Is it realized only ' in the Church '? Does the being " in Christ " signify essentially being ' in the Church '? Is the believer's life of mystical union with Christ dependent upon the believer's existence as a component part of a corporate whole to which Christ communicates Himself? These questions, vital perhaps to any understanding of the Apostle's Christ-mysticism, are questions which can be answered only from an

examination of his conception, or conceptions, of the nature and function of the Church.

When St Paul employs the terms " the Church ", " the ecclesia of God " he undoubtedly takes over under the Septuagint term *ἐκκλησία* the traditional conception of God's people Israel, the whole stock of Israel as assembled or as the people at large. In his use of *ἐκκλησία* he further embodies the conception of the faithful remnant, the true Israel; the community of believers in Christ as distinguished from those who had rejected and crucified Him is now conceived of as a chosen people in relation to the Incarnate and Risen Son of God and to " the Spirit ". From the beginning, then, the fundamental fact about the Church is that it is the fellowship of the saved. As St. Paul develops his conception of salvation the Church becomes the mass of those in whom Christ or " the Spirit " dwells as the animating principle of their being.¹ The Church is therefore not the institution of salvation: it is the sum of the saved. " It must be clear to every student of the Epistles that--- the Church which he thus sets apart is no visible community, but consists of all who are united to Christ by faith "² Of this sum of the saved St. Paul has this further to say--- it is an organic unity: it is the " body of Christ ". This conception of the Church as a unified organism is referred to first of all where Christ is presented by the Apostle as the life of the organism; Christ or " the Spirit " is the channel through which the Church derives all its spiritual life.³ Of this body Christ is already the Head, its

1. Rom. 6:3ff. 2. P. Gardner. The Religious Experience of St. Paul. p. 236. 3. Rom. 12:5; I Cor. 12:27, 10:17.

1
 Ruler. This conception of Christ as the Head of that body
 which is the Church is later developed in Colossians where²
 there is inherent in the phraseology the suggestion that the
 Church is a ' body ' not so much because its members constitute
 an organic unity as because it is an organism sharing Christ's
 life. As the physical body shares in the life of the head, so
 the Church makes Christ's experience its own in the intimacy
 of the fellowship that is established between them. This is
 a mystical relation like that of the Apostle's identification
 with his crucified and risen Lord; the Church becomes " the
 mystical Body of Christ ". A more striking presentation of
 of this relation of the Church to Christ is given in the
 Epistle to the Ephesians where the Church is the body of
 Christ Himself and this body is Christ's complement, so that
 without it He who fills all things would Himself be incomplete.³
⁴
 Dr. Armitage Robinson who interprets the word *πλήρωμα* in
 Colossians 1:19 and Ephesians 1:23 in the sense of ' complement '
 and who takes the word *σωματικῶς* in Colossians 2:9 to refer
 not to the manifestation of the Divine in a human body but to
 the Church as the body of Christ, has found in these terms and
 their immediate context the outstanding conception to be that
 of the inseparable unity between Christ and His Church, so that
 the suffering of the Church and the suffering of Christ are one,
 Christ has not suffered all that He is destined to endure,
 because He goes on suffering in the sufferings of the Church.

1. I Cor.11:3. 2. Col.1:18, 2:19. 3. Ephes.1:22 &23.
 4. Ephesians. pp.42ff.,87ff.,100ff.

The Church is even in its trials and persecutions what St. Paul describes as ' the fulness of Christ ', that without which Christ Himself is not complete. In line with this view Dr. Robinson paraphrases Colossians 2:9: " For in Christ dwells all the fulness (as I have already said), yea, all the fulness of the Deity, expressing itself through a body: a body, in which you are incorporated, so that in Him the fulness is yours; for He Who is your Head is indeed universal Head of all that stands for rule and authority ". Here we have in Dr. Robinson's view the full relation of the Church to its Head: the Church is the Mystical Body of Christ in the sense that as a living organism it shares in and complements the life and sufferings of Christ its Head. On this view it would seem that St. Paul carries over the idea of the mystical union with Christ from the individual believer to the Church. It has to be remembered, however, that this view advanced by Dr. Robinson rests upon an interpretation of the words *πλήρωμα* and *πληρουμένον* and *σωματικῶς* which does not meet with general acceptance¹, the word *πλήρωμα* being generally translated " plenitude " with reference to the Divine attributes in Christ, the verb *πληρουμένον* being taken the Middle voice to mean " filleth for himself " with reference to Christ and not to the Church², and the word *σωματικῶς* being taken to mean simply " in a body " or " in a living body " with reference to the Incarnate Christ. Dr. Robinson's view has, moreover, been

1. cf. Lightfoot on Colossians 1:19 & 2:9; Westcott on Ephesians 1:23; T.A.Lacey. The One Body and the One Spirit. p.37; and Morgan. op.cit. p.59. 2. This interpretation would seem to be supported by Ephes. 4:10. " that He might bring all things to their completeness ".

opposed by the sweeping assertion that the idea of the Church as a whole is but rarely touched upon by St. Paul and that apart from the Epistle to the Ephesians there is nothing to show that he carries over the idea of a mystical union from the individual believer to the Church.¹

Here then we have two contending views of the nature and function which St. Paul ascribes to the Church and apparently two contending views of the Christian's mystical union with Christ. On the one view the Church is the Body of Christ, the living organism which draws its life from the Head which is Christ, the living organism which indeed manifests the life of Christ, the living organism which is an organic unity through the one Spirit. The life of the Church which is the life of the Spirit is present in the whole Body and it is this Body which is the direct manifestation of Christ to humanity. Whether or not we accept the view that St. Paul conceives of the Church as a Body filling up the Passion of Christ, it is obvious that he does place the Church, as the correlate to Christ, in intimate union, as an organic unity, with Christ. From Christ as the Head life streams to the Body. Nay, He Himself as "the Spirit" is the life of the Body. His personal Presence is the continual possession, and experience, of the Church as a whole.² This being so, the Church is in mystical union with Christ. Christ is "in" His Church as the life of the Body and the Church is

1. Morgan. op. cit. pp.199-203. 2. T.A. Lacey. The One Body and the One Spirit.p.59.

182.
" in Christ ", united with Him spirit with Spirit. Is the mystical union of the believer with Christ then a union primarily within that organic unity which is the Body of Christ, the Church? Is it the case that the first question in St. Paul's mind is whether a man is a member of the Church? Is St. Paul's conception of Christ and the Church fatal to all individualism? To answer these questions in the affirmative may seem at the first glance to be over-harsh. But there is a certain truth in such an affirmative answer. This truth will be readily recognised from a verdict such as this: " the primary and full Bride of Christ never is, nor can be, any individual soul, but only this complete organism of all faithful souls throughout time and space; and the single soul is such a Bride only in so far as it forms an operative constituent of this larger whole "¹. In these sentences Baron von Hügel sums up his view of the Pauline Christian's full mystical union with Christ. His contention is that the individual as an isolated unit cannot attain his real personality nor full communion with Christ and that union with Christ in the Pauline sense is an organic unity of all Christians with their Lord. We are here presented with the obvious truth that one's Christianity can only attain its full expression and can only achieve full Christian personality within the unity of fellow-believers.

²
" It is hardly conceivable " writes Dr. Strachan " that Paul should have regarded it as an adequate expression of his meaning, that the risen Christ should dwell within the heart of a single individual as a kind of second self ". Though this

1. The Mystical Element of Religion.p.356. 2. The Individuality of St. Paul.pp.238 & 86.

writer does not refer explicitly to " the Mystical Body of Christ " he commits himself to the statement that the " fulness " of God is communicable to the individual Christian but only to him as a member of the Church. Similarly Wernle,¹ who on the other hand admits the mystical element in St. Paul's religion so far as to designate him " the type of the mystics " is emphatic that the Christian's relation to Christ is in St. Paul's mind a relation essentially within the Church: " the Spirit is bound to the Church, and this is further indirectly proved by the fact that the Spirit nowhere has an abiding place outside of Christianity --- Christ is the Spirit of the Church --- the Spirit could work upon Christians within the Church alone ".

The position of these last two above-mentioned students of St. Paul may be taken as legitimately founded upon the truly Pauline conception of the Church as a living unity, as not a mere gathering of individuals but a living organism the life of which is the life of the Spirit, which is in the whole Body. The word " body " is thus expressive of the unity of the individual members and their corporate existence and growth in the life of their Head. This conception at least is presented in Romans 12:4&5: " As we have many members in one body, and all the members have not the same function, so we, though many, are one body in Christ, and severally members one of another ". But this is not the full conception of the Body

1. Beginnings of Christianity. pp. 271ff. 354. & 358.

of Christ in the sense in which Dr. Robinson for instance interprets St. Paul's doctrine in Ephesians and Colossians. In these Epistles, it is contended, there is the more fully developed teaching regarding the Church, the presentation of the Church as the corpus mysticum of the Risen Saviour. The Church as this corpus mysticum is in union with its Head in that it shares His sufferings. The passion of Christ is in a sense not complete until the whole Church has suffered with Him to the end that like Him it may be glorified with Him in a new risen life. The Church is thus that in which Christ reaches His fulness. Christ is in His Church, " in this His Body He Himself remained on earth " ¹, and the Church is in Christ, united with Him in all the fulness of His experience spirit with Spirit. This is true even now, because it is through the Church that Christ works on the earth. So runs the interpretation of St. Paul which lies more or less at the root of the Christian mystic's conception of the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ. " As the Holy Spirit represents at once the intensifying and the extension of the Christ in man, so the Spirit-created Church represents the continuation and extension of the Incarnation. She is the Body wherewith the ascended Christ clothes Himself for His continuous dwelling in the world; the Body in which He knocks at the door of an unwilling and rebellious world; the Body in which He suffers and offers His Atoning Sacrifice for all mankind " ². This is the full-fledged representation of the Mystical Church which has been seized upon ^{by} _A

1. A. Deissmann. St. Paul the Prophet of the One Holy Church. in Goodwill. October 1925. 2. E. Herman. The Meaning and Value of Mysticism. p. 356.

mystical Christians to justify their conception of " a Church within the Church ", an invisible mystic Brotherhood, an " Holy Assembly ". We do not find in St. Paul's Epistles any such conception. With him the Church is the sum of the saved, the " sanctified in Christ Jesus ", the " called to be saints ", the One Body having no doubt its component members but still one and indivisible.

If however we accept as substantiated that interpretation of St. Paul which sees in his description of the Church as " the Body " and of the believer as a " member " not merely a metaphor but the announcement of a reality, albeit a complex reality; if, that is to say, we regard the Church as a real living entity whose function is to impart to humanity the fulness of Christ, the question arises as to how the individual believer comes to participate in the life of the Body, how he becomes a component member of the Body. This is admittedly a question not easy to answer. " How far Christians may, in Paul's view, have a conviction of a personal inter-course with an exalted Saviour, is a very difficult question " writes Dr. Gardner.¹ But he adds: " The life in Christ is primarily that of the community ", and " the Mystie Christ is the Christ ~~[is the Christ]~~ whose Spirit works in the world, and whose life is shared and carried on in the Church by every believer ". This does not take us very far. But a further statement may give us more light: " It was through the working and power of the Spirit that men were able to live the life in Christ ". Here quite correctly an emphasis is laid upon the

1. The Religious Experience of St. Paul. pp. 200, 201, 250.

Apostle's conception of the Spirit as vested in the whole body of believers. Certainly this conception is far more pronounced in the Pauline doctrine of the Church than it is in the description of the primitive community given in Acts. Certainly also St. Paul refers again and again to the Spirit as the possession of the Church much as the Law was the possession of Israel. Again in the later phases of his thought he may be taken to attach a mystical significance to the "body of Christ" and from this point of view to regard the Spirit as operative only in the Church as a whole. But this is not St. Paul's only view of the sphere of the Spirit. Rather he emphasises repeatedly the Spirit as given to individuals; and in I Corinthians 6, where he makes the Church the temple of the Spirit, he calls upon each of his hearers to be its temple. Again and again he describes the Spirit as dwelling in men's hearts, witnessing of their sonship to God, securing to each believer an immediate fellowship with the Lord: and when he gives expression to his own personal beliefs he does not put in the forefront the fact of being a member of the Church but falls back upon the language of personal devotion. It is this personal note that Dr. E.F. Scott finds most striking in the Apostle's references to the Spirit. "He (Paul) rejoices in it as the divine power which has renewed his life and given him strength and peace and illumination. He connects it ever and again with faith, which is the personal response to the grace of God in Christ". Here we have the Apostle exhibiting

1. The Spirit in the New Testament, p. 125.

his unfailing instinct for the realities of religion, asserting the reality in his own personal experience, his direct acquaintance with God " in Christ ", " in the Spirit ". It can therefore be deduced from the Apostle's doctrine of the Spirit that the " great mystery " is the indwelling of Christ in the individual and the life of the individual as a life " in Christ ". The mystical life of union with Christ is, on this view, the work of the Spirit mediating the life of Christ to the individual. This, it would seem, runs counter to that other interpretation of St. Paul which contends that the Spirit is bound to the Church and that the Pauline union with Christ is an organic unity of all believers with Christ.

Are these two contending views reconcilable? Can there be found in the experience and doctrine of St. Paul any basis for their reconciliation? We believe that these two conceptions of the union-relation with Christ never occurred to the Apostle's mind as antithetical conceptions. For the simple reason that to him true believers and members of the Church, the Body of Christ, are equivalent terms. To him the Spirit which dwells in the individual believer is the One Spirit which Itself binds all believers together in that unity of life which is the life of the Church. The indwelling of that Spirit in St. Paul, the Christ " in me ", means undoubtedly the re-enactment of Christ's experience in the life of the Apostle. What more natural than that he should conceive of the Church, the sum of the saved, the organism animated and unified by the One Spirit, re-enacting as a whole the experience, the divine drama of Jesus Christ? And if St. Paul himself conceives

1. Morgan. op.cit.p.203.

that in his person he is able to supplement the afflictions of Christ, can he be very far from conceiving that the whole mass of the faithful as a very real unity also enters into the sufferings of its Lord and Head? We hold that St. Paul does so naturally come to conceive of this most intimate relation between Christ and the Church. Out of the fathomless depth of his own intimacy with Christ, his union with the living Lord, influenced also by the belief that the Christian believers are the inheritors of the Church of God, the faithful Remnant of Israel, the Apostle comes to a doctrine of the mystical union of Christ and the Church, His Body. " Through an overwhelming experience " ¹ argues Deissmann, " had he (Paul) gained access to an inner vision, which revealed to him the divine-human mystery of the mystical body of Christ. The Holy Church is for him a postulate of his Christ-mysticism ". This seems to us to be true whatever view is taken of the nature of that life which is received and manifested by the Body. But one thing is clear, namely, that the Pauline Christ-mysticism can only be fully explained in terms both of his own intimate individual experience of Christ and of that experience as interpreted and enriched by his life in the Christian community. And equally so the Pauline Christian's Christ-mysticism comes to its full being both as the believer's consciousness of the pervasive Presence of Christ in his own soul and as the life of a member of the Church, the Mystical Body of Christ. We do not always find Miss Underhill a trustworthy interpreter of St. Paul's

1. St. Paul the Prophet of the One Holy Church, in Goodwill. October 1925.

2. The Mystic Way.p.195.

religion but we believe that she has correctly indicated how the "dynamic growth in grace", which she finds to be "for Paul the essence of Christianity", is to be attained. "It is to be done individually, by living and growing along the lines of mystical development exhibited by Jesus --- the 'putting on of the New Man' and slow attainment of full manhood, the 'stature of Christ'----- and collectively, by the Church, in which Paul, with the passionate optimism of those who see 'all creatures in God and God in all creatures' finds as it were the bodying forth of that new ardent spirit of life which emerged in the historic Christ; a vast creation of many members, serving, and controlled by, that head". "Individually ---and collectively"--- we see no reason to reject this as a true estimate of the sphere in which St. Paul's Christ-mysticism comes to be realised. For it is the same Apostle who utters almost in the same breath "to each one of us was grace given" and "living the truth in love, (we) may grow up into Him in all things, Who is the Head, even Christ; from Whom all the Body fitly framed and knit together, through every contact, according to the effectual working of that which is supplied in due measure by each several part, maketh for itself the growth of the Body, unto the building up of itself in love"¹. Here it is obvious that the individuality of the member is not to be obscured by the unity of the Body. From the single believer up to God the rule of oneness prevails. The experience of union with Christ on the part of the individual does pass over

1. Ephesians 4:7 & 15-16. cf. Westcott. Ephesians.

into the whole Body of Christ. That is a legitimate inference from St. Paul's own statement in Colossians 1:24. But it is equally emphasised by the Apostle that the life which lives in the Body is necessary for the growth and fulfilment of the individual life " in Christ ". In thus presenting us his religion, the fruit of his own experience, as a Christ-mysticism a union with Christ, to be attained individually and collectively, St. Paul has demonstrated two truths which are applicable to any religion that seeks to create a new humanity, a fellowship of believers; namely, that corporate experience of God, if it is to be truly religion, must always be grounded in a personal experience of God, and further that the achievement of peculiar sanctity by a member of a religious body is the achievement of that order in him. These two truths have received adequate recognition in the Epistle to the Ephesians where there comes into greatest prominence the conception of vital union with a glorious organism which draws its life from the Exalted Christ --- the one Divine Society, the universal and ideal Church, --- the Body of Christ, --- to which the life of every individual believer is a contributory element and in which every individual life finds its consummation.¹

We have advocated the view that St. Paul's own peculiar experience of Christ counted for much in the conception at which he arrives regarding the inward nature and organic life of the Church. It has to be remembered that he did not create the idea of the Church. From the very beginning he himself was

1. cf. Ephesians 1:22 & 23; 4:12ff.

conscious, in common with the first followers of Jesus, that he was in the Church, the Ecclesia of God. It can truly be said of him and of the early Jewish believers in Christ that they were Churchmen before they were Christians. The Apostle himself testifies of the existence of the Church, when he confesses that he "persecuted the Ecclesia of God". The earliest Christian believers did not view themselves at first as other than in the Church of the fathers, the ecclesia of faithful Israel. But as the line of demarcation came to be more clearly drawn between the Ecclesia of the Jews and the faithful Remnant holding belief in Jesus Christ, there came into view particularly with St. Paul the conception of all who believe in Jesus Christ forming a corporate body united with the Living Christ and having a special relation to Him and to one another. In the developed thought of the Apostle this conception passes into that of the Holy Society, the New Humanity, in which the life of the Exalted Risen Christ is present and which manifests to humanity the life of its Living Lord. Does this conception of the Church as the Body of Christ come wholly from the Apostle's inward thought and experience?

¹
Bousset would have us believe that St. Paul derived the idea of the Body of Christ from the Hellenistic cult-worship: that the Body of Christ is a cult-body with an intensive corporate life.

²
But with Kennedy we see no sufficient reason for accepting this view that the cult-relationship predominated in the Apostle's conception of the Church. Whence then did the conception come? May it not have owed its origin to some element in the teaching of Jesus Himself? May not St. Paul's "body of Christ" owe something of its content to "Kingdom of God" announced by Jesus?

1. Kurios Christos. pp. 152-154. 2. Theology of the Epistles. pp. 84-

We confess that this view is very attractive to us though it presents many difficulties. It is quite true that St. Paul but rarely employs the phrase " the kingdom of God ", and then generally with an eschatological significance. His references to " the kingdom of God " in I Corinthians 4:20 and Colossians 1:13 may however be interpreted as presupposing that the Kingdom has already come in its inception and exists as a power in the world. It may be argued again that Jesus Himself in His use of the phrase had His eyes upon the future and that He directed His followers' thoughts and expectations towards the consummation of the Kingdom at His Second Coming. But it may also be argued that the Ecclesia idea was not altogether absent from our Lord's mind, especially during the last days of His earthly life, and it is quite legitimate to conceive that His proclamation of the Kingdom of God was recognised as asserting that in some sense the Kingdom was already present on earth and was manifested in His fellowship with the Twelve, to be still further manifested wherever His true disciples were to be found. Does not the solemn ordination of the Last Supper indicate that the idea of a persistent Society, which should continue to live until it pleased God to bring about the Consummation, was present to the mind of Jesus and that in His mind the idea was cognate to the conception of the Kingdom? If so, then the idea that Jesus Himself entertained the thought of founding the Ecclesia¹ and that He did indeed found it becomes a thing credible. He was to be present with His disciples. In spirit He would abide

1. cf. G.B. Stevens. The Theology of the New Testament. p. 135ff.
J.H. Leckie. The Vocation of the Church. p. 37ff.

with His followers to the end of the world. May not, then, St. Paul, while the Kingdom-idea has fallen into the background of his mind, have penetrated behind the form of the thought revealed in Jesus and, laying hold upon its inner substance, have conceived of the society of the saved, the Holy Ecclesia, as occupying the place of the Kingdom of God? May not the Apostle, conscious himself of the Presence of Christ, have passed to the idea that Christ is present to and in every one of His faithful saints, that Christ's Living Presence is assured in them, that indeed the Ecclesia is the Presence of Christ on earth, His Body? It is noteworthy in this connection that St. Paul while he gives countenance to the eschatological significance of the "kingdom of God" yet conceives of the Church as corresponding with the new order of things, a world invisible waiting to be revealed, the new perfected reign of God which is pictured under the conception of "the kingdom". "We are" he writes to the Philippians, "a colony of heaven". In this sense the Church is identified with the "kingdom of God". Believers are already citizens of this "kingdom", They are the special representatives of their Exalted Lord on earth and as "one Body" they manifest the Divine Life of their Head to humanity. But that Divine Life which is the life of the Church, since it emanates from the Christ Risen and Exalted, seated at the right hand of God, must ever look forward^{to} the full consummation, that glorious Reality which will appear at the Second Coming of Christ. When Christ Who is the life of the Church shall appear, then will the Church appear with him in glory. The unity of Christ and His

Church, extending even now beyond the earth into heavenly
regions,¹ will then achieve that consummation wherein the
Church which is His body will be the full Bride of Christ.

1. cf. Ephesians. 2:6, 3:10.

IX. THE INFLUENCE AND VALUE OF ST. PAUL'S CHRIST-MYSTICISM.

We have found that the Christianity of St. Paul really centres in that larger 'faith' which is a union with the living Christ; that this 'faith' is the response of the whole undivided personality to the continued Presence of Christ; and that the consciousness of the Presence is at once the consciousness of the living Lord and the consciousness of the saving grace revealed in Jesus Christ. This 'faith' is thus both the conviction of oneness with Christ and the answer of the heart to the Son of God who loved man and gave Himself for him. St. Paul's religion is at once a Christ-mysticism and a faith-mysticism. What value has this faith-mysticism for the Christian religion of to-day? Does it hold anything of permanent value for the Christian faith of the future? This question could be at least partially answered by a survey of post-Pauline Christianity. The life-work of the Apostle, says Deissmann,¹ irradiates the thought of patristic and scholastic writers whose folios fill the libraries. More particularly could evidence be found in the recorded experience of the many fervent Christians, "the mystics of the Church", who consciously or unconsciously laid hold upon the experience (and in not a few instances the vocabulary) of St. Paul to express their own Christ-dominated religious life. Century after century the marked religious experiences of the Apostle have been reproduced in countless instances and the mystical doctrines of his Epistles have found an echo in every stage of the growth of Christianity.² Are these experiences and doctrines of weight and

1. St. Paul. Eng. Trans. p. 229.

2. P. Gardner. The Religious Experience of St. Paul. p. 99ff.

value to the Christian religion to-day ? Will they be formative influences in the Christianity of the future? If there can be put forward such a bold verdict as that of Deissmann¹ that " St Paul became influential in the world's history precisely by means of his mysticism about Christ ", we are certainly led into the inquiry as to whether or not the Pauline relation to Christ is still a rich seam to be worked in the field of Christian experience, as to whether or not St. Paul's Christ-mysticism has still that within it which is of permanent value to Christianity.

Religion, broadly defined, is the experience of God. The basal yearning of all true religion is expressed in that cry of Job: " Oh that I knew where I might find him! " St. Paul found an answer to that cry in the Lord Jesus Christ. For him Christ has the value of God. He has experience of God in and through Christ. It is an immediate experience this experience of Christ not in the sense of an unmediated -experience but in the sense that it works itself out within the Apostle himself. It is experience of the Christ revealed " in " him, of the Christ Who lives " in " him; it is experience essentially self-born and, while it comes to full completion within that organic unity of all Christians with their Lord which is the Church, the Mystical Body of Christ, yet it is by no means wholly dependent upon the mediation of historical facts and sacramental rites. We have seen that there were events and psychological conditions leading up to this experience of Christ, but in the Apostle himself these pale into insignificance before the Presence which dwells in him and in which

he himself lives. Again and again the ultimate appeal is to experience of Christ. Not only at the outset of his Christian career but at every crisis in it he undergoes with elemental vehemence that experience of Christ in which the element of immediacy is always conspicuous. So also when he comes to pour out his heart in his own defence and in counsel to his churches there is behind all his argument and urgency the constraining force of his own experience. When, for instance, he addresses the Corinthian church on his character as an apostle and on the correct conduct desired in the believer, we feel that his presentation of the Christian as a new creation and as reconciled to God¹ is the opening up of that which he consciously experiences in himself. In fact it may be said that St. Paul owes his intense religious conviction to an intense personal experience. The Christ Who, in the Apostle's speculative thought, fills the whole universe is the Saviour Who fills continually his heart.

(1) Now it is here that we strike the first element in St. Paul that is likely to be of lasting value to Christianity---the Pauline emphasis upon experience. The central doctrine of the Apostle's union with Christ is meaningless if there be not a very real experience of Christ. That doctrine serves to remind us that there is a Christ of experience as well as a Christ of historical fact. Not that the two are separable: they are rather complementary and necessary for the full apprehension of the Head of our faith. It is true, however, that certain forms of Christianity have tended to acknowledge the latter alone, to revere a Christ Who achieved an historical redemption for man or a Christ Who promulgated a sublime code

1. II Cor. 5:14-21.

of morality or a Christ Who demonstrated the assurance of immortality. With such a Christ there has been possible the experience of grateful love and moral obedience and joyful expectancy, but of intimacy in the sense of a union of spirit with spirit there has often been no trace whatever. Christianity as acceptance of a dogma of substitutionary atonement or as a system of moral conduct or as a vague hope of endless life has often had little foundation in the heart's experience. All such conceptions of the Christian religion St. Paul confronts with the Christianity that is experience of Christ. Not a human Christ this, not a godlike Form out of the dim past, but an exalted Being Who as Spirit enters into the inner life of man to transform the whole man into the very likeness of Himself. This Christ, the exalted and transcendent Lord, is Himself the point of contact between the Divine and the human in so far as He dwells in the believer and the believer in Him. That is to say, He is a Christ to be personally experienced. We are indebted to St. Paul for putting in the forefront the necessity of this personal contact of the soul of man with the living Christ. It is surely a truth that is essential to Christianity as a spiritual religion. Should it not be the formative thing in all true Christian life?

The argument may be advanced however, that to emphasise this experience of the indwelling living Christ is to convert Christianity more or less into mere subjectivity. No satisfactory basis can be advanced for the religion of others from the Christ revealed "in me". The experience of one cannot be communicated to another if it is founded on a purely personal

conviction nor can a mystical relation such as the Pauline union with Christ, associated as it is with the avowedly 'mystical temperament' of the Apostle, be presented as the essential reality of the Christian life to those who have naught of the 'mystical' and ecstatic in their nature. Such an argument, we hold, does not affect the validity of the Apostle's experience of Christ. No one is more sane and sober than himself with regard to those experiences which have been termed ecstatic and 'mystical'. He preferred not to boast himself in these phenomenal experiences, nor do they come into prominence in his presentation of the Christian life. Rather he urges that all such "talking of divine secrets in the Spirit" be controlled and made conducive to edifying.¹ But it is otherwise with that experience of his which is personal union with the living Christ. Here is an experience which is everywhere in the mouth of the Apostle. It is mystical since he believes it to come as immediate revelation "in" himself: his fellowship with the living Christ is thus attained by the route of intuition. Can this intuition of contact, union, with the transcendent being Christ be retained as a healthy element in Christianity? St Paul himself presents the answer. For it is true that his consciousness of the reciprocal relation between Christ and himself is not the outcome of the sporadic uprush of excited emotion nor the product of some psychic storm but, as the abiding unshaken conviction of all his Christian life, it is the ground of the noble steadfastness of his witness to Christ and it is attended with unabated enthusiasm for the practical everyday virtues and with the formulation of an ethic that is at once

1. I Cor. 14:2&3.

sublime and sober. We cannot but believe that this ground-
 -experience was for him an experience of reality. There is no
 suggestion to be drawn ^{from} his fervid witness to Christ that in
 appealing to his own inner experience as the consciousness of
 Christ's Presence he was confusing the subjective significance
 of a state of consciousness with the trans-subjective meaning
 attributed to it. For him the witness of his consciousness is
 valid, his invulnerable way of experiencing reality. After all
 an immediate grasp of reality cannot be disproved. In admiration
 and wonder we lay hold upon much that our minds cannot measure.
 Indeed that which is the experience of one soaring mind may be
 an experience potential in us all: " It is by no means unlikely,
 therefore, that what appears as the mystic's intuition is but
 the clearer and more definite manifestation of the underlying
 source that gives strength and conviction to all religious
 experience, and is implicit in, and therefore may be possible
 to, all ¹ ". If so, the Pauline emphasis on experience may not
 be dismissed off-hand as unworthy of high valuation in the
 Christian religion to-day. Is it not the reasoned opinion of
 that prince of writers on mystical religion, Baron von Hügel, ²
 that in all true religion the experient is aware of an element
 of " givenness " ? And is not St. Paul in his mystical union
 with Christ supremely conscious of that which is " given "
 him, the sacred presence of the living Lord, Jesus Christ?

1. E.S.Waterhouse. The Philosophy of Religious Experience.p.103.
2. The Mystical Element of Religion. Vol.I.p.189. & Vol.II.p.369.

Moreover, we find this further to say in favour of the Apostle's emphasis on experience of Christ. Such experience is with him not mere ecstatic feeling or unreflecting rapture. It has of its very texture a very acute and penetrating intellectual insight. St. Paul, it is obvious, did not cease to be a thinker when he became a Christian. We cannot read such bold affirmations as " the mystery which hath been hid from ages and from generations, but now is made manifest " ¹ and " he is before all things, and in him all things consist " ², and not remark how to the Pauline experience of Christ there goes not only passionate feeling and whole-hearted alignment of will but also the interpretative play of thought speculative and constructive. In the experience to which St. Paul appeals there is the intellectual element: all his powers of mind and thought he employs to interpret the fact of Christ. Hence it is that Baron von Hugel ³ has ample ground for stating the outstanding peculiarity of the " Pauline " group of writings to be this, that while it " is deeply penetrated by the intuitive-emotional, the mystical spirit of Christianity " it also " furnishes by far the greater amount of the explicit reasoning to be found in the New Testament ". While it is true then that St. Paul rests his religion upon the experience of the living and present Christ, it is also true that this experience includes in itself a creative reasoned interpretation. There are not two Pauls, the one Christian by reason of his emotional experience and the other the creator of a speculative Christology. The two are one and the same. His experience of Christ is not to be summed up as a series of intuitive apprehensions

1. Col.1:26. 2. Col.1:17. 3. The Mystical Element of Religion. Vol.I.pp.32-35.

and ecstatic moods but it has as an integral part of itself reasoned interpretation. In the Apostle there is not that division so often attributed to mystical religion, the division between life and thought. Rather we see in him the practice of the highest powers of intellect in shaping his religion. His religious experience is first and foremost experience of the exalted and indwelling Christ, but it is ever experience enriched through the logic of his whole personality, through feeling and will and thought. His is the Christianity not only of the flaming heart but also of the reasoning mind. First he knows Christ as his Redeemer and Living Lord, he has a deep consciousness of Him as a ' presence ', but he knows Him also as the Eternal Son of God, the Source of all existing things, the " Pulse and soul of the Universe, and the Bond in which all things consist ". The experience which he thus presents is no narrow field: it has room for that intuitive grasp of things which may be " latent reason " and for the exercise of logical thought upon that which stirs and holds the emotional nature.

Is not this appeal to experience so largely conceived something to be treasured for our Christian faith to-day? With St. Paul we would do well to recognise that which so many feel, that man has spiritual powers by which he may reach out beyond the life that is merely temporal, spiritual powers by which he may so enjoy an ever-increasing fellowship with God in Christ that the Divine perfection made manifest in Christ is " mirrored " in his life. We would do well also while resisting the demand for the purely intellectual statement of religion, to remember that our religion must pass

beyond the assurance of traditional belief and its authority, the mere trust in external evidence, since no man can be truly persuaded of the truth of Christ by mediate testimony alone, to allow that power of reasoning which is part of man's spiritual endowment to interpret that fulness of God made manifest in Christ. These reminders come to us as we read the Epistles of St. Paul. His experience of Christ results in a religion that is not the distortion of one or other of the elements that go to make up human personality: it is rather a religion to the making and enjoying of which the whole personality is employed. That this experience of the Apostle has a right to the emphasis he puts upon it and that it is likely to remain emphasised in our Christian religion is attested by the fact that for the forms of expression of our Christianity we draw upon the Epistles of St. Paul. It is out of his experience of Christ, out of his Christ-mysticism, that the Christian world takes the greater part of the classical forms expressive of its experience of Christ.¹

(2) In the second place it is worthy of note that the Apostle's religion as revealed in the Epistles and in Acts is intense personal experience of the Person, Jesus Christ. For with St. Paul there comes into clear prominence the tendency to pass from the faith of Christ, the moral and spiritual attitude of Jesus to the Father, to the faith in Christ, to the adoption of an attitude towards Christ Himself on the part of the believer. The Gospel of Jesus as announced in the Synoptists, the teaching concerning God and the kingdom of God, is merged in the Pauline gospel of faith in, union with, the Risen and Exalted Person, Christ. It is this new direction of the Christian mind

1. Deissman. St. Paul. Eng. Trans. p. 229.

that Deissmann is referring to when he writes: " The greatest
of St. Paul's achievements, however, was this that he connected
Christian piety inseparably with the Person of Jesus Christ ".
In the gospel that the Apostle preaches we have the preaching
of Christ crucified,² the announcement of One " born of a
woman "³, the outpouring of conviction regarding One whowas
seen of many and last of all " of me also "⁴, the yearning to
know " the fellowship of his sufferings "⁵, the necessity of
living " by faith in the Son of God who loved me and gave him-
self for me "⁶. Thus the religion of St. Paul, while it
retains the ever-steadfast trust in the Father demonstrated
and preached by Jesus, is furthermore based on loyalty to Jesus
Christ as a Person and is concerned with fellowship with that
Person. " The faith-mysticism of Paul " writes Dr. Angus,⁷ " is
faith grounded on an historic Personality --- the Christian
who is ' in Christ ' finds himself in fellowship with a Person ".
It is from being " in Christ " that the Christian secures that
experience of God which was the possession of One, Jesus Christ.
The faith of St. Paul is thus inseparably connected with a
knowledge of what Christ was and is. His Christianity is
permeated by a sense of Christ as a Person in whom the grace
of God was revealed in the flesh and in whom, alive by the
power of God, the same power of God is come upon men.

It has however been argued, as we have
noticed (p.90ff.), that the historical Jesus has been lost
sight of by St. Paul, and that a gospel is thereby presented

1. St. Paul. Eng. Trans. p.231. 2. I Cor.1:23. 3. Gal.4:4.
4. I Cor.15:1-8. 5. Philipp.3:19. 6. Gal.2:20. 7. The Mystery
Religions and Christianity. pp. 296&297.

which is entirely different from that given in the Synoptic Gospels, a gospel of the Pneumatic Christ. For the historical Jesus presented in the Synoptic Gospels the Apostle asks us to accept the Christ Who is Spirit or " the Spirit " Christ-ianised. It is further argued that in St. Paul's speculative Christology the Jesus Christ Who lived and died and rose again passes out of sight. These views, giving rise to the modern cry of " back to the historical Jesus " we see no reason for accepting in their entirety. However high St. Paul soars into a doctrine of Christ which can be described as " a very complete and explicit Logos-theology, though he never uses the word "¹ he never altogether in his own experience severs the cord that binds him to earth. that is, the Son of God Who " died for all ". It is because Christ has lived and died and risen again that He is alive and present to the Apostle still. We have to insist with Deissmann on "² the identity insisted on by St. Paul of the Crucified with the Living and of the Living with the Crucified, of the Earthly with the Heavenly and the Heavenly with the Earthly ". We hold further that in St. Paul's consciousness of the presence of Christ this identity is ever retained. We believe also that it is very vital for the Christianity of to-day that there should be maintained in the Christian this consciousness of Christ as at once the historical Person and the living Presence. This the faith-mysticism of St. Paul, involving as it does a union with the Spiritual Christ and a fundamental acceptance of the objective facts of the historical Jesus, enables us to do. We are not asked to confine ourselves to the earthly

1. W.R. Inge. Personal Idealism and Mysticism. p. 47ff.

2. St. Paul. Eng. Trans. p. 230.

and to shut out ^{the} supernatural nor are we called upon to embrace
 the transcendent and exclude the historical: we are presented
 with a Person Who has revealed in Himself and still mediates
 to us " the immanence of the eternal in the temporal and of
 the temporal in the eternal ". All this St. Paul sees in the
 Person Jesus Christ, at once the historical Jesus and the
 risen and exalted Christ. Of all this he himself has experience
 in his consciousness of the presence of Christ, the Lord and
 " the Spirit ". The Apostle's Christianity is at once historical
 and mystical, and we see no reason why it should not be so. We
 see no reason for the statement that " opposed to all mysticism
 is the faith (but not the uncritical faith) in a historic
 personal Saviour, intercourse with whom is the standing con-
 dition for ever and ever of all that is properly to be called
 religion " or for the confident dictum that mysticism's " true
 antithesis is not rationalism, but history ". These assertions
 rest upon the all too common assumption that Christian mysticism
 implies a doctrine of the ineffable God, a flight of the soul
 to the Transcendent, an absorption into a Divine unity which is
 really empty of significance, and as such is infected with that
 baleful tendency in religion which is " impatient of what is
 positive and historic ". We hold that this indictment can by no
 means be found true of ^{the} Christian mystic in general. He may not
 always be an evangelical believer, but at the heart of his
 mystical Christianity there is likely to be a passionate personal
 apprehension of the Person of Christ and as the ground of his
 exalted moods and behind his incursions into the deep things of
 God there is likely to be found a loving intimacy with Jesus
 1.P.T.Forsyth. Expository Times. Vol. V. " Mystics and Saints ".

Christ Who is and has been One bearing the features of human personality. " That which makes the true mystic " writes E. Herman, " is his personal relation to the Lover and Redeemer of his soul "; and she goes on to say: " the heart of Mysticism --- that which makes it a genuine spiritual movement and experience, and not a mere theosophy --- is its passionate personal apprehension of Jesus Christ the Redeemer ¹ ". If this be largely true of the vast field of Christian mysticism, must not a deal of the credit for the loving retention of the Person Jesus Christ be given to St. Paul, in whose faith-mysticism the ultimate end of all true religious life, the experience of salvation, is inseparable from the experience of the living presence of Jesus Christ the Redeemer? The Person of Christ it is to whom the Apostle ever draws attention. He does not, even in the much-quoted saying of II Corinthians 5:16, profess a contempt for the historical framework of Christianity that he may claim a purely subjective illumination, but the centre of all his life and thought is confessed to be the Person, that " Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me ".

(3) We owe it then very largely to St. Paul that permanently in the Christian religion there must be this reference on the part of the Christian to the Person of Christ: " What therefore is continuous, and thus characteristic, in the Christian experience is the reference to Christ, and this each age strives to express in terms of its own spiritual life and

1. The Meaning and Value of Mysticism, pp. 299-301.

values ¹". But it is equally true that the Apostle by reason of his faith-mysticism, his experience of union with Christ, has made known a reference to Christ which gives to Christian faith a new element and an element of incomparable importance. The Christian is vitally related to the Person of Christ in that he shares Christ's experience. This is of the essence of the Pauline union, fellowship, with the Jesus Christ Who is the Son of God: the Christian is to re-enact the whole process of Christ. It is by sharing the experience of Christ that Christians and the Church come to have union with the divine. The oft-repeated phrases of St. Paul, " in Christ " and " Christ in me ", emphasise that the experience of the Person Jesus Christ are to be repeated in every Christian. The sufferings, death, rising again of Christ are thus transferred from the sphere of historical fact to become of the very texture of the Christian's life. This is the doctrine which makes the profoundness and originality of the Apostle. He presents it to the Christian Church with so much insistence and elaboration that we cannot but understand this re-enactment of Christ's experience to be for him a legitimate phase of normal Christian experience. In other words, the Cross of Christ is planted in the heart of the Christian. Not merely as a historical fact is the Cross planted there but as a vital experience. The Cross in the full sense of all that followed from it, the Death, Burial, Resurrection, takes its place as the law, the pattern which all who would be Christian must follow: the Cross becomes the inner secret in which and through which men come to abide in that fellowship of the sufferings of Christ, which is essential to the full knowledge of

the Person of Christ.¹

Now it is just this emphasis upon the Christian's participation in the experience of Christ, an emphasis that is true to the spirit of Jesus' teaching itself,² that has laid all succeeding ages of Christianity under an incalculable debt to the Apostle. His emphatic recognition that a true Christ-consciousness includes a fellowship with Christ in His experience has been productive of the best life of the Christian Church from his day to ours and will, we hold, continue to be so in days to come. The Cross has been in the past symbolical of the highest moral and spiritual life that man can lead. It is quite true that fervent Christian mystics have interpreted this life of the Cross in terms of the material and physical and have given unlovely demonstrations of the 'crucified' life, the abnegation of the exercise of the reason being in some cases taken to be one of the necessary ways of being crucified with Christ. It will not do, however, to judge by its abuse and exaggeration the principle that is here the secret of the man "in Christ". For it is the accepted principle of men, who are constrained by the love of Christ, that they must die unto sin in order to live unto righteousness and that it is only by crucifying the base desires of the flesh that the highest life of the spirit comes to fructification. Of this high spiritual principle St. Paul found a great and captivating instance in the self-renunciation of which the Cross speaks, and when he writes of the fellowship of the blood of Christ Jesus

1. Philipp. 3:10. 2. St. Mark. 8:34, 35; 10:35-40.

and of bearing about in his body the dying of the Lord Jesus, he is expressing what his union with Christ holds for him, not only the outpouring of God's grace in forgiveness and redemption for the lost but also the noblest religious and ethical inspiration for life. The early disciples might have been content to see in the Ressur^rection of Jesus the vindication of their Master's Messiahship, but St. Paul at any rate sees in the Cross the expression and fulfilment of the perfect righteousness which he feels is expected of him. Only thus can he come into touch with the righteousness of God,¹ only thus can he be renewed a new creation energised by the power of God--- when he knows the power of Christ's resurrection and the fellowship of His sufferings. In this fellowship the Apostle knows himself to be pressing " toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus " and to be attaining² " the righteousness which is of God by faith ". In so interpreting the significance of Jesus Christ better than any contemporary or any other New Testament author St. Paul has rendered a magnificent service to our Christian religion and has given us out of his insight into spiritual reality that which, if Christianity is to endure as an inner transforming influence on men's lives, must be permanent. Wherever there is to be Christian faith of " life-enhancing quality " this Pauline Christ-mysticism involving in the Christian that ' faith which is loyalty of the whole personality expressing itself in the re-enactment of the whole process of Christ, must

1. Romans 3:24-26. 2. Philippians 3:1-15.

have lasting value. Of this ' faith ', which is not a mere acceptance of dogma or of bare historical fact but is essentially a union with the Person of Christ in the experience of Him Crucified and Risen, it is true that St. Paul gave to it a premier place in the Christian life which it can never lose.

(4) Again, it is in this emphasis upon the Cross of Christ as an essentially inward experience, as not bare history but the Christian's personal history, that St. Paul supplies something that is of inestimable value to our Christian religion and something that is likely to commend itself to all who seek thoughtfully to interpret Christianity that it may be " the self-same with the Reason of his Mind ". The Divine drama of Jesus re-enacted in the human soul, the union of the Christian with his Lord, supplies us with a theory of redemption which, in contradistinction to long-accepted theories, is likely to satisfy the Christian of the future. For the time has long been with us when men's minds have felt a grave dissatisfaction with a redemption which is confined to an isolated fact viewed in the not too clear light of an unworthy conception of God and an equally unworthy conception of the dignity of man. The time seems ripe to thoughtful minds for a statement of redemption as a process of God's Love working itself out in the Crucified and as a process of that living Christ immanent in the hearts of men. It is here, we hold, that the Christ-mysticism of St. Paul is of inestimable service in recalling us to the essential glory of the Cross as the most characteristic expression of the true Being of God and of the way of redemption for man, and not merely

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a temporary expedient to meet an emergency. Dr. Westcott has said practically the same thing when he writes: " We must jealously guard this truth of the transforming power of union with Christ. No parody of evangelical teaching can be more false than that which represents it as the discharge of the sinful, being sinful still, from the penalty of their guilt by the intervention of the guiltless; there can be no discharge of the sinful while they keep their sin." ¹ Not that we here contend for any diminution of emphasis on the fact of the Cross of Christ, for any such diminution would find no countenance in St. Paul. The man who uttered the burning words: " God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." (Gal.6:14), whose abiding purpose was to " preach Christ crucified "(I Cor.1:23), cannot be held guilty of losing sight of the fact of Christ. But the fact for him is not fact per se, but the process energising through the fact and only as energising through the fact does the process become part of his experience. The fact of Christ is indissolubly connected with the process of Christ " in me", and only as a deduction from historical fact can the doctrine of the process of Christ have any real and concrete value. The " redemption that is in Christ Jesus " is " the propitiation in his blood " set forth of God, but "to be received by faith " which for the Apostle means suffering with Christ, being crucified with Christ, buried and raised with Christ, in short experiencing that union with Christ which is the re-enacting of the whole process of Christ. Here is a redemption born and achieved of a deep mystical fellowship with the Christ, a redemption to be realised in terms of personal life.

Further, while this "redemptive immanence" does full justice to the objective facts of Jesus Christ, it does not lend itself to the objection that it is limited to the imitation of His moral perfection. Undoubtedly it gives rise in St. Paul to a splendid ethic, to a moral enthusiasm which commands our Christian admiration to-day. The love of God revealed in Christ Jesus awakens in the redeemed man that love to God and to man which is the true fulfilment of the ethic of Jesus. (The) The Christian who witnesses to the experience "Christ liveth in me" has and reveals in practice "the mind of Christ" and the "ways which be in Christ". The life of the redeemed thus evinces a wealth of moral fervour, in which abound love, joy, peace, long¹suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance. We have but to turn to the sixth and eighth chapters of the Epistle to the Romans to find a full exposition of this moral and spiritual renewal which is the life "after the Spirit", the life of those who "are in Christ Jesus". But it has to be remembered that this renewal and the activities which characterize it do not spring primarily out of the Christian's quickened mind and will, but from the love of God manifested by Jesus Christ in the salient acts of His life and in His continued presence as "the Spirit", as the "power of God". As God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself, so is He still in Christ, mediating through Christ His Divine potencies to men. This lies behind all the Pauline doctrine of the indwelling Christ and the indwelling Spirit. The redeemed life, therefore, originates in the transcendent God and the re-

1. Gal. 5:22-23.

-redemptive immanence is but the other side of the redemptive transcendence. It is the love of God which is shed abroad in our hearts by the holy Spirit which is given unto us. (Rom. 5:5)

" For it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure ". (Philipp. 2:13). We have therefore Christ immanent and redemptive as the impact of transcendent God upon the soul of man. The redemption which is in Christ Jesus, the moral and spiritual renewal arising from the fellowship with Christ, is the contact of God with us, spirit with spirit; in the divine drama of Jesus we see the most perfect manifestation of God's glory and in re-enacting that drama, Christ in us, we have communion with the eternal God from whom every pure thought and noble impulse ultimately proceed. In other words, God is the inspiring Power in this redemption from beginning to end. The full content of it for the Christian is his contact with a gracious, redeeming God in Jesus Christ. St. Paul indeed is here true to that mystical element which is essential to all true and fruitful religion " the vivid, continuous sense that God, the Spirit upholding our poor little spirits, is the true originator and the true end of the whole movement, in all it may have of spiritual beauty, truth, goodness and vitality." ¹

We have already found that the supremely intimate union with Christ constitutes for the Apostle the pre-supposition of all that counts in the redeemed life so that we have also the other element which is for the author of " The Mystical Element of Religion " the continuous sense of the ever necessary, ever fruitful, ever bliss-producing Cross of Christ", as the great law of life, the other element of truly mystical Christianity.

¹ Baron von Hügel. op. cit. p. 395.

The redemption that is " in Christ Jesus " is therefore no mere imitation of Christ's Manhood, but has as its source and its inspiration the Being Who is at once transcendent and immanent, the manifested energy of Whose transcendence and immanence is experienced by all who live in ' faith '. It is by reason of St. Paul's emphasis upon the faith-union that we are able to pass away from the conception of redemption as merely an escape from judgment, a conception that is apt to be Christo-centric only in the sense in which St. Augustine's doctrine of " ransom " paid by the Innocent Christ for the release of mankind from the power of the Devil is Christo-centric, to the conception of redemption as an ideal of life, an ideal which originates in God and works itself out in human personality in contact with the God Who reveals Himself in Jesus Christ as Redeeming Love. This is the true sense in which redemption is Christ-centric. We must hold it possible for the whole process of our life to be God revealing His Son " in " us. We venture to suggest that in this living unto God out of inward union with the Crucified we have a redemption which, because it is not based on some completed " act for an emergency ", some " transaction ", will commend itself to the Christianity of the future. We believe that this redemption presented as a living fact still in operation and as a process in human lives, this redemption which apart from its expression in the legalistic arguments of St. Paul is expressed by him as a mystical union with Christ, a union which is " an abiding mood of thinking, willing, feeling ", will more and more find recognition from earnest and thoughtful Christians as the " most blessed and the most variable part of the Christian revelation ".

1. W.R.Inge. Personal Idealism and Mysticism. p.185.

But we would go further along the line of thought marked out in the Apostle's doctrine of redemption and touch upon a further service that he has done our Christian faith. In the unfolding of his experience of Christ he emphasises not only the intensive side of that experience but also the significance of Christ for all creation. In other words, he universalises Christ, making Him the indwelling principle of created things. It may be argued that St. Paul in thus universalising Christ is constrained to depersonalise Him. But this is not so. With the Apostle the Christ Who is the Power of God energising in the life of Creation, like the Risen Christ indwelling in men's lives, always ^{was} the features of the Crucified Jesus. No more, however, is He merely the Messiah, the Heavenly Man of the Jews: He becomes the Eternal Son of God, the first-born of Creation, One Whose suffering, death and resurrection are the working of God's Love in and upon all God's creation. No one can read these products of the more developed thought of St. Paul, the Epistles to the Colossians and to the Ephesians and such a passage as Romans 8:21&22, without realising that he there passes beyond the conception of the redemptive process as worked out in the human soul to the conception of it as a cosmic process, a process in which all Creation shares and of which all Creation is the expression. No longer is redemption in Christ to be exclusively in terms of sin and salvation: that redemption, viewed no doubt from its fulfilment in man, is active upon the whole universe of created things: it begins with the first inscrutable beginning of Creation. The realm of Nature and the realm of Grace are thus not conceived of by St. Paul as two essentially separate provinces, but the soul of man and the universe of created

things are expressing the Being of God by way of God's eternal purpose manifested in Christ Crucified. " If the Christ-process must be repeated in every human soul; if no son of God can be brought to glory except he be crucified with Christ as well as believe in Christ crucified for him; nay, if the whole cosmos must travel to God by way of Calvary, then the Cross is the heart of the universe---is, indeed, none other than that meek omnipotence of God by which chaos is being turned to order and evil to good. Mysticism here adumbrates a theological conviction which is gradually coming to its own--- that in the life and death of Jesus God is most truly Himself." ¹ Here there is the salutary reminder that the redemption that is in Christ Jesus is not to be confined to one small patch of life, it must be true for the whole coherent field of life. Professor Pringle-Pattison has but said the same thing when in the concluding chapter of his Gifford Lectures " The Idea of God " he writes " The universe is in no sense a finished fact; it is an act, a continuous life or process which (to speak in terms of time) is perpetually being accomplished." ---"the ultimate conception of God is not that of a pre-existent Creator but, as it is for religion, that of the eternal Redeemer of the world "-----and the deepest insight into human life as well as the truest and intensest realisation of the self is also " the open secret of the universe as given " in the Pauline phrase , dying to live. The secret of the universe in other words ^{is} the redemptive power of God Who reveals His Son in us, the Love of God which woos us, the love of Christ which constrains us, until we be crucified

1 E. Herman. The Meaning and Value of Mysticism. p.338.

and raised with Christ, united with Him in that mystic union wherein the process of Christ is re-enacted in us. Here in St. Paul's Christ-mysticism we have presented to us a view of ultimate Reality, the Eternal God as essentially redemptive and creative power, fulfilling His eternal purpose through the Love manifested in Jesus Christ, union with Whom brings us into contact with Eternal Truth. This, while it is an intellectual presentation of religion and as such has enabled Pauline Christianity to stand the test of many changes in the intellectual atmosphere, is not founded on the intellect alone; always the passion for Christ the personal Redeemer is dominant. But clearly this union with Christ is for the Apostle the ultimate of human experience, the true access to Reality; and as all true religion is fundamentally a search for Reality, this, the central, comprehensive and inclusive thing in St. Paul is a message which will be valued in the future by all who seek to place their experience of the fact of Christ in a rational interpretation of life and the universe. These are days when the Christian religion may so far become a matter of the understanding mind as to be little better than an abstract orthodoxy or a cold philosophy. What is wanted is a completeness and balance of graces. This we can learn of St. Paul whose Christ is at once a cosmic principle and a personal Redeemer, and whose high speculations ever retain their real basis in the conviction that self-sacrifice belongs to the very nature of God. To those whose Christianity is a fellowship with Him Who manifested forth this Divine self-sacrifice, the conviction that His dominion is as wide as the Universe must surely be always a precious possession.

In our opening chapter we commented on the Christ-mysticism as a much-neglected side of Paul's religious experience. We have found, we hold, more than one reason why it is by no means worthy of neglect. Rather there are these elements in it which are of permanent value to our Christian faith: (1) the emphasis laid upon experience, that experience which is the consciousness of the Presence of Christ, the Living Indwelling Spirit. We are here recalled, as age after age has been recalled, to the real living Christianity, the Christianity which is based on neither an infallible book nor an infallible institution^{it}, but is a life or an experience, a fellowship with the living Lord. (2) the retention for Christian faith of the Person Jesus Christ and the objective facts of His revelation of God's redeeming work. (3) the concentration on the cardinal facts of Christ's own experience as a necessary process to be re-enacted in the experience of all who are constrained by the love of Christ. (4) the insistence on God's creative redemption of all men and things, a redemption the principle and law of which is made manifest to man in the Christ Crucified and Risen and made the principle and law of life through union with Him. All these elements are to be found in the religious life and teaching of St. Paul dominated as it is by the unrelaxing consciousness of fellowship with Christ. We therefore see reason, so far from neglecting the Christ-mysticism of the Apostle, to insist on it as "the essence of Christianity."¹ We do not argue that it is the whole of Christianity, but we argue that it gives us a Christianity more cognate to the spirit of

¹ W.R.Inge. Personal Idealism and Mysticism.P.90.

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Jesus Christ Himself than doctrines of justification and of reconciliation framed in forensic terms and supported by ancient Rabbinic arguments, In the forefront it puts that experience of Christ as the indwelling Spirit of God, an experience without which Christianity as a personal faith is impoverished at its source, but that experience is also inclusive and productive of all the faculties of human personality," an abiding mood of thinking, willing, and feeling." In other words in this Pauline Christ-mysticism there is a place for that rationality in which the heart joins forces with the head, and the feelings are given due place, that rationality which in Dean Inge's words is "reason applied to a sphere above rationalism."¹ In such a Christ-mysticism we have a synthesis of the highest feeling and the highest reason, in which we lay hold upon spiritual reality and experience spiritual truth as a living fact. Now of this rationality, this exercise of the logic of the whole personality, orthodox Christianity in its dread of a mere intellectualism, has ever been shy. Not that it need be. It is a false orthodoxy which bases its strength on naked history, on an infallible scripture or on an infallible ecclesiastical dogma. But it is a true orthodoxy which presents the minds of men with both the Christ of History and the Christ of Experience and bids the reason in man explore these for the things of the Spirit and the deep things of God. The true orthodoxy is thus not antagonistic to mysticism: the true orthodoxy becomes mystical by employing reason to its fullest extent. So it opens windows into the infinite. This, we hold, was pre-eminently the

¹ W.R. INGE, Christian Mysticism. p.21.

case with St. Paul. He has taught us not only to live constrained by a magnificent Christian ethic of which Love is the prevailing note but "in Christ" to interpret the meaning of life and to read the secret of the universe. Here it is that the Christ-mysticism of the Apostle is likely to influence the life and thought of religious men and women of the future. His Christian experience is not merely a condition of devout feeling: nor is his Christianity produced by pure thought or dependent upon it. His witness to Christ is the witness of that reason which is the logic of the whole personality. Because of this witness so rich in its appeal to the heart and mind of man, the Christian religion has that within itself which fits it to be "the faith of the future". "In the union of mysticism with freedom of thought and inquiry" writes J.R. Green,¹ "will, I am persuaded, be found the faith of the future".² The faith of the future, concludes another student of religion, will always have a place for "a Mysticism whose passion for intimacy with God is checked by the Christian sense of sin, based upon a deeply ethical conception of salvation and sanctity, and born of a vision of God as He is in Christ Jesus". Is not this just what is given us in the Christ-mysticism of St. Paul?

1. The Letters of J.R.Green.p.80.
and Value of Mysticism.p.viii.

2. E.Herman. The Meaning